Daily Report

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FBIS-SOV-89-043 *7 March 1989*

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Foreign Ministers Meeting Continues in Vienna

Shevardnadze Addresses Group

PM0703115789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report entitled "Vienna Talks Under Way. Speech by E.A. Shevardnadze"]

[Text] Vienna 6 Mar—The magnificent Hofburg Palace has become from today one of the most important centers of international efforts aimed at moving the detente and disarmament process forward and building a reliable foundation for a "common European home." A 3-day meeting of foreign ministers from 33 European states, the United States, and Canada has started here to open talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and talks on confidence-building and security measures. The Soviet Union is being represented at the meeting by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister.

The agreement to hold the current talks was one of the most important results of the Vienna meeting of CSCE states. These forums—which could mark the beginning of a new era in the process of real disarmament, statements by many politicians and press commentaries are stressing—became possible thanks to the new political thinking that is being asserted in the world, the growing cooperation between all participants in the all-European process, and the major contribution made to this cause by neutral and nonaligned states. The very fact that the Vienna dialogue is taking place attests to considerable changes for the better in the international situation.

One of the central tasks of the talks is to work out a balanced agreement on substantial reductions to NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces and conventional arms. It is a question of establishing in Europe an equilibrium of military potentials whereby both military-political alliances would retain the forces and weapons needed solely for defense. Local political circles are expressing the opinion that the Vienna talks will be held under favorable auspices. This optimism is linked above all with the Soviet Union's "peace offensive" and the wide-ranging initiatives by the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states to cut their military arsenals.

The peoples, Alois Mock, Austrian vice chancellor and foreign minister, stated in opening the meeting, expect the talks to cut arms spending and dispel the fear of the people for their physical existence. The peoples want greater security, which can ultimately only be ensured by joint efforts aimed at establishing a peaceful order. Here in Vienna both sets of talks are focusing on how to lay the foundations for such an order.

Stability and security inside and outside Europe, he continued, are interrelated. The new dynamics in East-West relations are not restricted solely to Europe, they are spreading increasingly to other parts of the world, promoting the resolution of problems. A. Mock expressed the conviction that progress in Europe on both confidence-building and conventional arms cuts will have a positive impact on the disarmament process globally and on the settlement of regional conflicts. Europe, he noted, is just part of our planet. However, because of the high concentration of armed forces here Europe bears a great responsibility for safeguarding security worldwide.

In conclusion, A. Mock wished the talks success. May the Vienna forums bear out people's expectations and help our children and future generations to live in a Europe where security and lasting peace prevail, he added.

The meeting participants listened with great attention to the speech by E.A Shevardandze. He said:

Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, we are opening unique negotiations—unique not only as regards their formula, format, and set of participants. Memory prompts us that never before has an undertaking with so momentous an objective been conceived.

Reason convinces us that the road leading to that objective is the right one.

Instincts tell us that the willingness to reach the end of the road is common to all of us.

The very chance that has been given to us is unique.

Political intuition and objective analysis makes us conclude that if we make use of it we will get a Europe of new quality and value.

We are in effect opening negotiations not just on reducing troops and conventional arms and on confidence-building measures—we are undertaking the task of overcoming the split of Europe. As we are getting underway, it is appropriate to present our vision of the current state of affairs and of the goals shared by all.

For the better we know each other's views the easier it will be to identify reasonable defense requirements of the European countries. Furthermore, reasonable requirements can only be identified on the basis of reasonable perceptions.

Well, reason is today, more than ever before, a solid pillar of politics, and this, I believe, is also a unique feature of the moment, and the greatest achievement of the new times. Being very different in terms of outlook, convictions, and value systems, and having no intention of betraying them, we have finally been able to perceive ourselves as a single nucleus of the European entity.

The negotiations of 35 and of 23—the two new branches of Helsinki—are starting at a time when in Europe things that a few years ago seemed impossible have become routine.

The routine nature of these things reveals new standards of international existence.

Soviet and American nuclear missiles are being destroyed as a matter of routine.

Inspections of military facilities are being conducted on a workaday basis.

Notifications of planned military exercises, troop movements, and strategic missile launches are being sent in an equally ordinary way.

These routine things have become the norm, the rule, the canon. It is our duty to extend that also to the reduction of conventional armed forces.

In fact, they are already being reduced—reduced unilaterally by the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia; reduced on a large scale. Thus deeds come ahead of words, obligations precede agreements.

During this year, the Soviet armed forces deployed in the allied countries of Eastern Europe will be cut by over 20,000 men, 2,700 tanks and 300 combat aircraft. Twenty-four tactical missile launchers will be withdrawn from the German Democratic Republic.

By 1991 the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries will have been reduced by 300,000 men, 12,000 tanks, and 930 combat aircraft.

The composition of the remaining Soviet units and formations in those countries will also change substantially. There will be 40 percent fewer tanks in motorized rifle divisions, and 20 percent fewer in tank divisions.

This diplomacy of example, diplomacy of deeds, calls for something more than just a chorus of praise and approval. Let those in the West who are applauding our unilateral steps respond with a step of their own in those categories of arms where they have an advantage.

However substantial the numerical reductions may be, their main significance probably lies in the political signal that they send.

The actions taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries reflect above all a new approach to assessing the probability and degree of military threat posed by the West. They reflect growing confidence that security can to an increasing extent be assured by non-military means. The outdated criterion than more weapons means a better guarantee of security has been replaced by a new and all-pervasive resource—the emerging factor of trust.

For our part we would like to hope that our way of thinking and acting is no longer identified in the West with ill will or evil intentions.

The mutual "image of the enemy" that used to pervade both Western and our propaganda is giving way to a more objective and serious look at each other.

Let us together pledge that that image, which not only affects people's feelings but also leaves a grave imprint on policy making, dialogue, and communication, shall not burden these negotiations.

Now, let me present to you our specific positions.

They call for a three-stage reduction of armed forces in Europe down to levels sufficient exclusively for defense.

Recently NATO, too, has put forward a proposal on stability at lower levels of armaments.

These two approaches can be bridged. Notwithstanding serious differences, they can be brought together. For both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization call for eliminating the potential for carrying out a surprise attack and launching large-scale offensive operations. Furthermore, both sides believe that a lower level of overall military confrontation in Europe has to be attained.

That is already a kind of starting point for the negotiations, which is not bad.

This is what we propose. In the first phase, with a duration of 2 or 3 years, imbalances and asymmetries would be eliminated, as regards both troop numbers and the main categories of arms.

To achieve this, it is proposed that reductions focus mainly on the most destabilizing kinds and categories of arms such as frontline attack combat airplanes of tactical aviation, tanks, combat helicopters, combat armored vehicles and armored personnel carriers, and artillery, including multiple rocket launcher systems and mortars.

NATO and the Warsaw Treaty would reduce their armed forces and conventional arms down to equal collective "ceilings" which would be 10-15 percent lower than the lowest levels possessed by either of the political-military alliances.

A small remark here. We do not know what proposals our negotiating partners from NATO will bring to this rostrum, but it is clear from our discussions that they would prefer not to affect troop numbers and would artificially restrict the list of destabilizing armaments subject to priority reductions.

Let me ask: What kind of reductions are these if they do not affect the main component of armed forces—their personnel? And surely airplanes and helicopters can be used for a surprise attack.

The next element: Strips (zones) with reduced levels of arms, from which most dangerous and destabilizing types of conventional arms and hardware would be withdrawn, reduced, or restricted and within which there would be limitations on military activities, would be created along the line of contact between the military-political alliances.

Tactical nuclear arms would also be withdrawn from those zones. Nuclear weapons delivery vehicles would be pulled back from the line of contact to a distance that would make it impossible for them to reach the other side's territory.

All those elements are treated in detail in the proposals of our allies.

In the second phase, also lasting 2-3 years, further cuts would be carried out on an equal-percentage basis to reduce the identical ceilings attained during the first phase.

During that stage the armed forces of each side would be reduced by another 25 percent (i.e. approximately by 500,000 men) with their organic armaments. At the same time other categories of arms would be reduced, and further steps taken to restructure the armed forces on the basis of the principles of sufficiency for defense.

Finally, during the third phase the armed forces would be given a strictly defensive character, and agreements would be reached on ceilings limiting all other categories of arms and on the principles of armed forces development by which the participating countries would have to abide.

One of the most difficult problems, it would seem, is how to avoid the sterile data debate which Vienna has already heard as the requiem for talks on disarmament in central Europe.

It is clear even now that the published figures are causing a great deal of mutual arguments and objections. That is understandable. Differing approaches were applied, and hence the conclusions turned out to be different. We would think that it is not productive now to argue who is right and who is wrong.

Would it not be better just to avoid sterile arguments about data while giving priority to strategy and large-scale politics?

We are not citing any absolute figures for future "ceilings." This is what experts should work on; it is for them to develop a common approach, a single method of account, which must be scientific, fair, and objective.

Any ingenious stratagem or undisguised attempt to retain an advantage in a particular kind of arms could torpedo the negotiations.

This is not a matter of arithmetic but more properly of morality. Honesty and fair play are indispensable components of the process of negotiations.

If we—both in the West and in the East—are convinced that growing trust creates a chance to lower military confrontation, that conviction should be translated in practice into greater openness and glasnost, and lower levels of troops and armaments, the only correct and acceptable way to achieve security is to create a situation that rules out mutual threats.

That is why we are saying that at each stage of the process of disarmament the interests of mutual security must be observed. Without that we shall not be able to stop the arms race. It cannot be stopped selectively. True, we can move faster in one area while postponing a decision in another, but it would be naive to think that one has no relation to the other. And since that is so, we have to take, so to say, a broad-spectrum approach, to move ahead, across the broadest front of disarmament, ridding ourselves of nuclear, chemical, conventional, and any other weapons.

We continue to be fully confident of an early conclusion of the Soviet-American treaty to reduce strategic offensive arms by 50 percent. We hope that the day of the signing of the convention banning and eliminating chemical weapons is not far off.

I also want to emphasize that the Vienna mandate is based on the Madrid mandate, which provides that confidence- and security-building measures must apply not only to Europe but also to the adjacent sea area and the air space above.

In going back to this question it is not at all our aim formally to reaffirm our position about the need to include naval armaments, too, within the context of confidence-building measures. Technological advances are changing the role of those armaments. As ships are equipped with long-range cruise missiles, which can perform strategic tasks even though conventionally armed, attack capabilities of naval fleets will be even more powerful than they are now. Surface ships and submarines are becoming ideal offensive weapons, best fit for a surprise attack. Measures that give ground forces a strictly defensive structure, withdrawals of tanks and artillery, and all other steps to rule out surprise attack logically bring about the need for serious efforts to limit destabilizing offensive functions and capabilities of naval forces.

The issue of naval forces has been raised on the eve of these negotiations not as a condition but with only one aim in mind: We have to understand clearly even now that the scope of eventual agreements will to some extent be affected by, among others, the factor of naval arms.

This is equally true of the question of modernizing tactical nuclear arms, if such plans are translated into practical actions.

The reason is not even that modernization is a way to maintain and build up nuclear arsenals. What is more, it can destroy the fragile trust that has just begun to emerge in Europe as a result of decisions genuinely significant militarily, and important politically and psychologically.

If it happens, Europe will be pushed back to what it was before the conclusion of the Soviet-American treaty eliminating INF missiles.

The Soviet Union proposes that separate negotiations be started as soon as possible on reducing and completely eliminating tactical n uclear weapons in Europe.

What Europe needs is not modernization of missiles, but a modernized system of security based on drastic reductions of troops and armaments.

But even then we would of course have to be confident that the new formula of security would work in all situations.

To have such confidence, the most rigorous and reliable verification must be assured. As we see it, that should not be a big problem. In priniciple we know how it could be done. What is more, we have systems in operation and well-tested methods of control and verification. The implementation of the Stockholm agreements and the practice of monitoring compliance with Soviet-American agreements makes us confident that the problem of verification can be solved in this area as well.

We shall insist on the most stringent and rigorous verification, including inspections without right of refusal, aerial monitoring of the situation, and checking the routes of communication used to reinforce troops and equipment.

In other words, there is no verification measure that we would not be ready to consider and accept on the basis of reciprocity.

Such is our long-term programme of reducing conventional armed forces.

Its implementation begins, naturally, with first steps. Let us try to take them and to conclude the initial agreement within a short time.

We have all that is needed for that.

At the negotiations of 35 we would like not only to improve what was done in Stockholm but also to reach agreement on a new generation of large-scale confidence-building measures under which openness and glasnost would go hand in hand with limitations on all kinds of military activities and with confidence-building measures extended to naval and air forces.

Neutral and non-aligned countries could play an important role here. We for our part will do our best to make sure that their national security interests are fully taken into account.

Let me add another remark.

The evolution of the situation in some regions adjoining Europe makes one think of new dimensions of European security.

In the Near and Middle East, i.e. in close proximity to Europe, powerful weapons arsenals are being created. It is not enough just to mention that 25,000 tanks and 4,500 aircraft are deployed and ready for combat in the Middle East and there is a real danger of nuclear and chemical weapons appearing there—missiles have already appeared with an operational range of 2,500 km; that is, of precisely the same class that is being eliminated from Europe. This new situation is emerging against the background of the mounting trend toward European disarmament. The conclusion is obvious: The processes of disarmament in Europe and settlement in the Middle East have to be synchronized. txt
While the Mediterranean is, in some way, joining in the all-European process, the Near and Middle East remain outside our collective concern. I say collective concern because certain attempts are being made on an individual basis.

Today they are clearly insufficient.

While welcoming the Europeans' Middle East initiative, the Soviet Union is calling for joining the efforts of all permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, the UN secretary general, and the European Community to help the peoples of the region to establish peace, put an end to the arms race, and initiate wide-ranging economic and environmental cooperation. To do so, it is imperative to get rid of the rudimentary mentality that requires acting against each other rather than together with others. There should be no playing on any contradictions—whether it is Israel's conflict with the Arabs or the difficulties in the West's relations with Iran.

There should be respect for the values of those with whom we coexist on our planet—even if they do not fit our own standards.

Going back now to the topic of the coming negotiations of 23 and 35, let me express confidence that they have good chances of succeeding.

I want to assure you that the Soviet Union will do its best to help them succeed. It will do so guided by our view of today's world and of ways to assure its security and solve global and regional problems, as set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev at the session of the United Nations General Assembly.

We have a very difficult road ahead of us. Our experience—the experience of 5 Soviet-American summits and more than 30 ministerial meetings—tells us that without such intensive work on problems of real disarmament there would be no treaty eliminating INF missiles today.

These negotiations will require something similar, but on a larger scale. At certain stages the matter could be considered at the highest level. It is possible that more than one all-European summit meeting will be required. We have to anticipate that at decisive moments, possibly twice a year, foreign ministers might have to meet in order to keep the fire burning at these negotiations and prepare for the summit.

In this area, which is of major importance for the future of Europe, there is a need for maximum concentration of efforts and active cooperation among all states participating in the Helsinki process.

We are firmly counting on that.

Let me wish the participants in these negotiations an early and productive implementation of the mandate.

Our wholehearted gratitude goes to Austria, which has assumed the difficult function of hosting these talks. We thank the government of the Republic and the Austrian people.

Shevardnadze Departs Vienna

LD0703122789 Moscow TASS in English 1221 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 7 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze left Vienna on Tuesday after attending a foreign minister meeting of 33 European nations, the United States and Canada.

The meeting marked the opening of talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures.

Returns to Moscow

LD0703150989 Moscow TASS in English 1502 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 7 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze returned to Moscow from Vienna today.

He took part in a meeting of foreign ministers from 33 European nations and the United States and Canada, which began talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and confidence- and security-building measures.

Shevardnadze Holds Round of Meetings in Vienna

Meets Austria's Vranitzky

LD0603165389 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 6 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, had a meeting here on Monday [6 March] with Franz Vranitzky, Austria's federal chancellor.

Noting the historic importance of the opening negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe and negotiation on confidence- and security-building measures, the sides confirmed the mutual intention vigorously to promote their progress in the spirit of the ideas contained in the final document of the Vienna meeting of countries, participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

During the exchange of opinions on topical international problems of mutual interest, Shevardnadze and the federal chancellor pointed to the similarity or coincidence of the approaches of the sides and declared for stepping up interaction of the two countries in the interests of universal peace and security.

Shevardnadze told the federal chancellor about the main aspects of his trip to countries of the Near and Middle East.

The intelocutors confirmed their governments' readiness for the further stepping up of constructive and mutually advantageous cooperation between the USSR and Austria in every direction.

The conversation passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Talks With Waldheim

LD0603204289 Moscow TASS in English 2007 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 6 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today visited the Austrian president, Kurt Waldheim, and had a conversation with him.

The interlocutors paid special attention to issues related to the start of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and on confidence- and security-building measures.

Shevardnadze said that the talks had all prerequisites for elaborating agreements that would lead to a qualitatively new state of European security.

He expressed the readiness of the USSR and its Warsaw Treaty allies to conduct a constructive dialogue in Vienna and their interest in a stable and secure Europe.

Waldheim highly assessed the Soviet Union's realistic proposals directed at creating favourable conditions for improving the entire international situation.

He assured Shevardnadze that Austria, as the host country, will apply maximum effort for the success of the talks and make its contribution to the further development of the all-European process.

The president emphasised that traditional Austrian neutrality was of top-priority importance for the country.

Highly assessing this stance, Shevardnadze pointed to the special role of neutral and non-aligned countries, above all Austria, in fostering and consolidating the all-European process.

The Soviet foreign minister and the Austrian president discussed issues of settling the Middle East and other regional conflicts and agreed with the need for internationalising this process under the U.N. auspices.

The conversation was friendly.

Anticipates Meeting With Baker

AU0603221089 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by ORF reporter Otto Hoermann in Vienna on 6 March—recorded; Shevardnadze statements in Russian with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Hoermann] What do you think of the speech delivered by Secretary of State Baker today?

[Shevardnadze] I will talk with him tomorrow.

[Hoermann] What do you expect from tomorrow's meeting?

[Shevardnadze] We will see. At the moment it is difficult to say. It will be our first meeting and we will get to know one another. We will probably discuss the general situation and draw up a general balance sheet of U.S.-USSR relations and talk about the further program of the conference, the state of the talks in all directions—nuclear weapons, space weapons, chemical weapons, conventional weapons. We will have to fix a date for his visit to the USSR and also future meetings.

[Hoermann] Sometimes one hears that U.S. policy toward the USSR is changing, is becoming more rigid.

[Shevardnadze] I have no proof of this. When General Secretary Gorbachev met with President Bush, Bush said that the principle of consistency will be maintained. Consistency means that the basic line of relations will be continued, a line which is supported by virtually the entire world public. I think that the Americans will take some time to finally establish their policy, to establish new positions and new ways. Developments will show how things will go. We will wait. My meeting with Baker tomorrow will show us a thing or two.

'Constructive' Talks With Baker

LD0703133489 Moscow TASS in English 1303 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 7 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze had his first official meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker here on Tuesday. They discussed priority areas of Soviet-American relations and prospects of further gradual development of the Soviet-American dialogue.

Shevardnadze and Baker considered several urgent international problems and joint tasks of bilateral relations. Both sides described the talks as useful, constructive and opening favorable opportunities for the future.

The Soviet foreign minister invited James Baker to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union in the first half of May 1989 to continue discussions on the whole spectrum of Soviet-American relations. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

Baker Assesses Meeting

LD0703163589 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 07 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 7 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, after a meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Vienna on Tuesday, told newsman that it was a "productive and very positive" encounter.

During that meeting, he said, the two great powers reaffirmed their determination to continue cooperation.

The policy of reforms currently under way in the Soviet Union benefits not only the USSR, but also the entire world, he said. Success of perestroyka depends on what Moscow is doing, not on what the West is doing.

Baker said that they agreed on cooperation in the nonproliferation of nuclear and chemical weapons, which was one of the examples of the two great powers' shared interests.

Baker said that the new U.S. Administration was currently specifying Washington's stance in the talks on strategic offensive arms. This process must be completed before the end of April.

The United States is also specifying its stand on the disarmament talks as well as on the issue of modernising strategic arms.

On the talks on conventional armed forces and on confidence- and security-building measures that are starting in Vienna, Baker said that he expected them to restructure the armed forces and create structures that would correspond to defence needs.

In his words, the offensive capability should be reduced to the minimum.

The USSR, he pointed out, already moved ahead in this direction. He reaffirmed that there are still differences between the United States and the Soviet Union on problems of air and naval forces and on tactical missiles.

Washington welcomes the new thinking that guides the Soviet Union in its attitude to the Middle East problem, Baker said. At the same time he skeptically assessed the chances of success of an international conference on the Middle East, saying that much remains to be done within the framework of direct talks between the parties at conflict.

Shevardnadze Meets UK's Howe

LD0703075989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0720 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, 7 March (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, has met British Foreign Secretary G. Howe.

The ministers welcomed the opening of talks on conventional forces in Europe as well as the talks on confidence- and security-building measures. They stressed the importance of cooperation between all participants in the all-European process for the purposes of a speedy and successful end to the talks.

Matters connected with the upcoming visit to Britain by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, were discussed in constructive terms.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the progress and rate of preparation for this visit and mapped out a schedule of joint measures to complete the preparatory work.

E.A. Shevardnadze informed Howe about his trip to the Near and Middle East and about the talks there.

The ministers stressed the need to step up collective efforts, through the UN Security Council and UN secretary general, aimed at achieving a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli and Iran-Iraq conflicts.

The conversation passed in an open and businesslike atmosphere.

Discusses Rushdie Affair

AU0603205689 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Veronika Seyr and Otto Hoermann report on meeting between British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe and USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Vienna on 6 March—portions recorded; Howe and Shevardnadze statements in English and Russian respectively, with superimposed German translation]

[Text] Shevardnadze received British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe in the USSR Embassy. This talk had been expected with great interest. During his recent visit to Iran, Shevardnadze offered to mediate in the Rushdie case at the explicit request of Great Britain. With this step Great Britain wanted to avoid the severance of diplomatic relations, a step which might have unforeseeable consequences at an international level. Sir Geoffrey Howe has confirmed that he discussed the Rushdie case with Shevardnadze.

[Begin Howe recording] Now as before we are of the opinion that there can be no justification for an order to kill somebody, and we insist on the freedom of speech as it exists in our country. These are principles that have to be valid for both halves in a common European house. [end recording]

Question to Foreign Minister Shevardnadze on the conflict between Iran and the West. Shevardnadze's answer, made exclusively for Austrian Radio and Television Service (ORF).

[Begin recording] [Shevardnadze] The conflict has to be settled.

[Hoermann] Who is the guilty party?

[Shevardnadze] One must not look for the guilty party. It is a difficult question, a very difficult question. If we try to find the guilty one then we will come to no serious conclusion. It will only lead to increased confrontation and increased tension. [end recording]

Briefs SFRY's Loncar

LD0703085789 Moscow TASS in English 0800 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 7 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met Budimir Loncar, Yugoslavia's federal secretary for foreign affairs, in Vienna on Monday.

The ministers briefed each other on the processes of restructuring and reforms in their countries. They also discussed prospects of strengthening security and cooperation in Europe in the context of the Vienna talks, as well as some other international problems of mutual interest.

Talks With FRG's Genscher

LD0703090189 Moscow TASS in English 0802 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 7 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met West German Deputy Federal Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on Monday.

Stressing the historic significance of the talks which have opened in Vienna, they expressed a desire to act energetically to ensure their progress.

Genscher supported the idea of holding pan-European summits and foreign minister meetings to give the momentum to the talks and overcome possible difficulties. The idea had been voiced by Shevardnadze in his speech at the Vienna ministerial meeting.

In view of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's upcoming official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany, Shevardnadze and Genscher discussed a plan of contacts to adequately prepare for the visit which should open a new page in Soviet-West German relations.

In the same context they discussed some fundamental issues of bilateral relations.

Shevardnadze and Genscher compared notes on the situation in the Middle and Near East and agreed that it is in the interest of Europe and world peace to work for peace and calm in the region. The discussion revealed very similar approaches to preparations for an international conference on the Middle East.

The ministers stressed the need to facilitate an Iran-Iraq settlement.

The meeting was businesslike and constructive.

Talks to France's Dumas

LD0703091889 Moscow TASS in English 0827 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 7 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met with his French counterpart Roland Dumas in Vienna on Monday [6 March].

They held a useful exchange of opinions on all-European problems. The importance of attaining concrete results at negotiations on conventional troops in Europe and negotiations on confidence and security-building measures was specially underlined.

Some other international problems, specifically a Middle East settlement, were also discussed. Both sides stressed that practical preparations for an international conference should now be given priority in solving the Middle East crisis.

In the light of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to France the two foreign ministers considered preparations for a Soviet-French summit meeting and agreed to take further steps.

The meeting was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Talks With CSSR's Johanes

LD0703085389 Moscow TASS in English 1056 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna NMarch 7 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met on Monday with his Czechoslovak counterpart Jaromir Johanes.

They discussed ways of putting into practice joint initiatives of socialist countries at the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and talks on confidence- and security-building measures that opened in Vienna. They stated that the stands of the fraternal countries were fully in line with the task of strengthening European security and dramaticaly reducing the level of military rivalry in the continent.

Shevardnadze and Johanes informed each other of transformations implemented in the USSR and Czechoslovakia which are aimed at using to the maximum the potential of socialism in the interests of peoples of the two countries.

The conversation was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Fischer, Mladenov Comment

LD0703135989 Moscow TASS in English 1237 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov:

A meeting of foreign ministers from 33 European countries, the United States and Canada which will open talks on conventional arms in Europe and on strengthening confidence and security is continuing in Vienna's Hofburg Palace. A serious and constructive dialogue about the future of the European peace process leading to a lessening of military tension and qualitatively new steps to reduce military arsenals in Europe is expected.

The GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer said that the conditions for disarmament have never been as favourable. The INF Treaty and unilateral reduction of the Warsaw Pact's armed forces and armaments show that the most difficult problems of European security can be resolved. The progress achieved in one area of disarmament should not be offset by increases in other areas, he continued. New thinking and new actions should not be unilateral. We can achieve disarmament only if everyone is ready to participate, Fischer stressed.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker III called his speech at the meeting "The New Horizons of Europe." He started with a description of post-war realities which split the continent into two opposing camps and tried to show how the present situation in Europe has been changed under the influence of objective circumstances. He called the Soviet unilateral reduction of armed forces and arms in Europe "a very good and encouraging start" but used worn-out stereotypes to describe the Warsaw Pact states and "disbalances" in conventional arms.

Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov called for an end of fruitless discussions around figures which can only drag out the Vienna talks. He thinks that the model of strategic stability in Europe should be worked out on the basis of the idea that countries aren't enemies despite differences in their ideologies. The minister said that present Vienna forum is taking place in a favourable atmosphere and stressed that the improvement of the international climate was the result of new political thinking. It is now time to switch from separate measures to provide confidence and security to a universal policy of confidence. Europe should be free from the burden of arms and military oppostion, he added

FRG's Kohl Cautions Against Talks 'Illusions'
PM0603141189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "'Seizing the Opportunity'"]

[Text] Bonn, 5 Mar—FRG Chancellor H. Kohl stressed the important significance of the impending Vienna talks on conventional arms in Europe. Their aim, his statement circulated by the federal government's press and information department said, is to establish a reliable and stable equilibrium in the sphere of conventional armed forces. These measures must encompass the entire area from the Atlantic to the Urals, he indicated. There must not be zones with differing levels of security.

However, we must not labor under any illusions, the chancellor continued. The talks will be difficult. That is why there must be patience, persistence, and clarity in the positions of the sides. Disarmament only makes sense when the security of all the sides participating in this process increases finally rather than decreases.

The FRG Government, he pointed out, expects the talks to be an important landmark on the path to a peaceful European order where states with different social systems can live in peaceful competition without being afraid of one another. East and West, the chancellor stressed, now have a good opportunity to overcome the crucial obstacle in the way of lasting good-neighborliness. Both East and West bear a common responsibility for seizing this historic opportunity.

Prospects for Vienna Disarmament Talks Discussed
PM0603141789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Vasiliy Pustov article under the rubric "The World Today: Problems and Opinions": "Alarms and Hopes"]

[Text] Talks between the 23 Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic alliance member states on conventional forces in Europe are due to begin in Vienna tomorrow [6 March]. Discussion will center on their reduction. In terms of their combat performance characteristics, modern conventional armed forces are such that a war in Europe fought with them (even without any tactical nuclear weapons) would have unpredictable consequences. This cannot be allowed to happen. It is therefore necessary to accomplish a transition from overarmament to reasonable sufficiency for defense.

Now, on the eve of the start of the new dialogue in Vienna, it is logical to ask: What results can be expected from it; what can be hoped for? It is well-known that the Warsaw Pact states are striving to reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe and transform it into a continent of peace, confidence, and good-neighborly relations. There is no doubt that their stance will impart to the talks a dynamism in line with the realities of today's world and will leave a positive imprint on them.

The results of the talks will also depend on how responsible and realistic a stance is taken by the NATO countries. So far, their stance on a series of important questions does nothing to dispel the worries and fears felt not only by socialist countries but also by broad circles of the West European public.

It has been announced in London that Britain's Foreign Secretary G. Howe will be the first to speak on the NATO countries' behalf on 6 March, the day the talks open. THE OBSERVER points out that he has set himself quite an ambitious task—"to seize the political initiative in arms control from President M. Gorbachev." It is intended to accomplish this "seizure" by foisting on the Warsaw Pact states an elimination of imbalances between the armaments of the two military-political alliances in a purely "NATO style," in other words, in armaments (like tanks, artillery, and armored personnel carriers) where the advantage lies with the Warsaw Pact Organization. Meanwhile, the existence of asymmetries and imbalances in armaments (like strike aircraft, combat helicopters, and so on) where NATO enjoys an obvious advantage is ignored. According to the Western press, the idea of Howe and his NATO colleagues is to begin reductions actually with tanks, limiting their total number to 20,000 on each of the opposing sides.

The NATO leaders are proceeding from clearly far-fetched data which does not reflect the real existing correlation of forces. They claim, for example, that the

West has only 20,000 tanks in Europe, understating the actual number by 10,690. According to reports by London's THE TIMES, while in view of these tendentious calculations NATO's official representatives felt not so long ago that the [NATO] bloc countries could offer a reduction of, say, 2,000 tanks, the British minister is against even this now. And yet he demands a reduction of 30,000 vehicles from the Soviet Union alone. Howe's "bold"—as it is called in London—plan essentially does not presuppose arms reductions by both alliances, but rather the gaining of military advantages by NATO on the basis of prior unilateral arms reductions by the Warsaw Pact states. Even a newspaper like the U.S. THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, which is far from harboring sympathies for the socialist countries, warns that "such a stance is obviously unsuitable for the talks."

It should be emphasized that there is absolutely no need to try—as the West is hypocritically doing—to persuade the Warsaw Pact states to embark on radical reductions of armed forces in Europe. They have proven their readiness to do so by their deeds, having made the decision to unilaterally reduce their military might and having already embarked on the implementation of this decision. Here the socialist states reasonably believe that the elimination of existing asymmetries and imbalances ought to begin with the arms which, in constituting a surprise attack potential, are the most destabilizing. These are primarily strike aviation, which are capable of delivering surprise strikes many times faster than tanks, over considerably greater distances, and with more accurate and more powerful strike systems. NATO disagrees with this and is unwilling to part with its 50-percent superiority in this type of arms.

The different approaches of the sides toward the question of subsequent (following the elimination of asymmetries and imbalances) reductions of armed forces are striking. Instead of the 25 percent suggested by the Warsaw Pact states, the NATO countries accept reductions of only 5 percent, and not in all categories of forces either. THE TIMES offers the following explanation: "NATO armed forces commanders have recommended no weakening of NATO's 'forward defense' policy—the permanent stationing of allied divisions in West Germany—as a result of the 5-percent reduction of armed forces." As we can see, the Warsaw Pact troops which are to be reduced and which are, moreover, being given a nonoffensive structure—something designed to dispel the West's alleged or real worry—are countered by NATO by a concentration, camouflaged as "defense," of offensive strike groupings along the borders of socialist states.

The mandate of the talks which begin tomorrow does not extend to naval forces. But who does not know that they they cannot be left out of account—as NATO is trying to do—when comparing the military potential of the two military alliances? Especially since NATO enjoys an overall fivefold superiority in terms of major surface ships (light aircraft carriers [avianesushchiye], aircraft carriers [avianostsy], cruise missile ships, and so on). NATO also enjoys an advantage in the quality of several types of naval armaments. At present all this is compensated by the Warsaw Pact Organization's advantages in some other types of arms. But once asymmetries and imbalances are eliminated in, say, ground forces, the relative weight of NATO's naval superiority will become even more striking. This cannot fail to alarm the Warsaw Pact states.

Another claim which will not stand up to criticism is that the NATO navy has no offensive potential since, operating in the seas and oceans, it supposedly cannot take part in the capture of foreign territory. But, one then wonders, for what purpose do the NATO countries maintain such a vast quantity (84) of large landing ships in the waters adjoining Europe—3.5 times the number (24) of such ships in the Warsaw Pact countries? Since when have naval landing operations ceased to be classed as offensive combat actions?

The NATO staffs are already nervous about the reasonable remark that separate talks on naval forces ought to begin in order to establish a stable and safe balance of conventional forces at a lower level. According to THE OBSERVER, NATO officials are worried that "the Soviets might overtake NATO by putting forward a fresh initiative;" their proposal to reduce naval forces "could embarrass the West since it enjoys considerable superiority in these forces."

Whether by accident or design, it is highly symbolic that the "Wintex-Simex-89" major NATO command and staff exercises were timed to coincide with the start of the Vienna talks. "This is the first time," the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL emphasizes, "that NATO intends to rehearse not only the first use of U.S. nuclear weapons but also a second follow-on nuclear attack...." As we can see, NATO's generals reason in a simple manner: Let the diplomats talk about reduction of conventional arms while we prepare for the use of nuclear arms.

The importance of this rehearsal is emphasized by the fact that it is taking place against the background of a noisy propaganda campaign in favor of replacing launchers for the "Lance" tactical missiles with new ones—more powerful, with a longer range, and more accurate. The passions being whipped up around this issue prompt the question: Could someone in NATO be intending to implement nuclear arms upgrading plans by way of "compensation" for any possible accord on reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments?

This dangerous idea is promoted primarily by Washington, with London's support. I do not think, however, that they will succeed in achieving its speedy implementation by easily imposing their will on their allies. At least one-half of the NATO countries are against this. They explain their restraint by the population's growing disbelief in the threat from the East and its desire for

stability and security. A desire is also expressed not to hurry in making any decision on arms upgrading but to wait for the outcome of the Vienna talks. Why, the Italian magazine RINASCITA asks in perplexity, create a new generation of missiles now, when the USSR has pledged to withdraw several tank divisions from the territory of its allies? Only fanatics, the magazine goes on, could fear today that West Europe runs the risk of a surprise attack by the Warsaw Pact countries.

Europe is now entering a new and most crucial period, a period when a decision will be made: Will it take the path of surmounting the barriers that divide it or the path of maintaining a split accompanied by constant confrontation? The peoples expect a triumph of new political thinking and a victory of common sense at the talks which are opening in Vienna, which hold no promise of being simple, easy, or brief.

Various Disarmament Issues 'Inseparably Linked'
LD0603200189 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—Major-General Yuriy Lebedev, assistant chief of a department of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, believes that the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe are part and parcel of a single process of disarmament negotiations. At the request of TASS World Services he commented on the talks that start in Vienna today by 23 states-members of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and of the North Atlantic alliance.

The Soviet Union, the expert continued, has never separated the reduction of conventional armaments from other disarmament problems. These, objectively speaking, are inseparably linked matters. The problem of conventional armaments emerges to the forefront now that the process of real nuclear disarmament has begun after the coming into force of the Soviet-American INF Treaty, now that much has been done to achieve a 50-per cent reduction of strategic weapons, to destroy chemical weapons.

General Lebedev deems it necessary, first and foremost, to strive for a reduction of such armaments as tactical attack planes, combat helicopters, tanks, artillery, infantry combat vehicles and armoured carriers. The Warsaw Treaty members proceed from the premise that a strictly defensive character should be imparted to the armed forces of both sides at the final stage of the negotiations.

Of course, the question of naval forces should also be resolved, Yuriy Lebedev said. Noting that naval forces, where the disbalance is obviously in NATO's favour, were not subject to the current negotiations, he expressed the view that this, in the final count, could produce an adverse effect on the stability of the military-political situation. "Whereas at the initial stage of the negotiations the overall disbalance will not be very dangerous, it will be hardly possible to put up with it in the future, the general continued. In view of this, the Soviet Union has proposed to start separate negotiations on naval forces. We hope they will be held".

Yuriy Lebedev stressed that the Warsaw Treaty members attached great importance to measures of control and expressed the view that "there would be no stumbling blocks to future agreements on this score". He said that the goals of the negotiations would be perfectly attainable "if the NATO states proceeded from the principle of reciprocity and took into account the other side's security".

The Soviet military expert spoke highly of the Soviet unilateral initiative to reduce its armed forces and military spending. This initiative "is not linked with the Vienna negotiations. It goes to show that the sides should do everything possible to lessen the military confrontation in Europe", the Soviet General Staff spokesman stressed in conclusion.

*** Baker Nuclear Modernization 'Mission' Viewed**
WA18070540a Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 2 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by Vadim Biryukov: "A Step Backwards"]

[Text] The thesis "the more missiles, the better the security" is obviously obsolete today. And if one is indeed to advise in favor of security in Europe, would it not be more logical to engage not in the destruction but in the improvement of missiles? But, all things considered, as the eminent West German expert on disarmament, Egon Bahr, thinks, Washington is striving under the pretext of modernization to arm the NATO countries with new and dangerous nuclear weapons.

Only a blind person would be unable to see the contrast in the positions of the USSR and the United States regarding the question of tactical nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union is consistently in favor of eliminating all nuclear weapons in Europe, including tactical ones. Countries of the Warsaw Pact have repeatedly proposed to NATO that they begin negotiations on curtailment and then complete elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including the nuclear components. At the Vienna meeting the Soviets were consistently in favor of including tactical nuclear weapons, including short-range (up to 500 km) missiles, in the mandate for negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. And if this did not happen, only the United States was to blame.

The Soviet Union is not conducting modernization of its tactical nuclear weapons since such modernization would be a step backwards and not forward.

It is obvious that James Baker's mission to impose a modernization of tactical nuclear weapons on the Europeans met with certain difficulties. FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl made it clear to the American visitor that

his attitude toward this undertaking was negative. The U. S. secretary of state found no support in a number of other European capitals either, including Copenhagen and Oslo. The idea of the existence in Europe of a mythical military threat from the Soviet Union is becoming less and less popular. This position is the result of real steps toward disarmament taken by the Soviets, including the decision to withdraw from Europe the tactical nuclear weapons that are there for the six Soviet divisions that are abandoning the Old World.

United States & Canada

Bush Lacks 'Discernible' Asian Solutions

PM0603160189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[A. Golts' "Observer's Remarks": "Are the Priorities Changing?"]

[Text] Foreign trips by a country's leader usually clarify the basic thrusts of that state's foreign policy. But it seems to me that U.S. President Bush's recent visits to Japan, China, and South Korea have generated more questions than answers, questions regarding the kind of approach the present administration will have to the problems of Asia and the Pacific.

As soon as the trip was announced, the U.S. mass media began making various conjectures as to what had caused the White House incumbent to set out on such a crucial trip when he had not even finished forming his administration. They wrote for example, that his objective was not just to pay last respects to the deceased emperor of Japan Hirohito, although this did serve as an important sign in Japanese-American relations. "The Japanese government," THE WASHINGTON POST remarked, "rates highly the symbolism of the fact that Bush, a former pilot who was shot down during World War II, should attend the funeral of the monarch who had led Japan against the United States."

American journalists stressed that the trip was necessitated by the disquiet apparently felt by Washington over Soviet initiatives in Asia and the Pacific and M.S Gorbachev's upcoming visit to China.

However, White House official statements on the trip's objectives were very vague. "The visit," Brent Scowcroft, national security advisor to the President, stressed at a special briefing, "is designed not just to point out the great importance the United States attaches to developing relations with the three countries, but also to demonstrate Asia's growing significance for American relations as a whole." From which one may presume that diplomatic flag-waving was at stake.

And if so, it succeeded. It needs to be frankly said that the American President's statements in the Asian capitals did show that he was seeking to rise above political machinations and attempts to belittle the significance of Soviet foreign policy initiatives. In interviews given to Japan's KYODO and China's XINHUA, for example, he stressed that he considers the Soviet decision to reduce its armed forces very positive. Bush also noted that considerable progress had been made at the talks with the USSR on halving strategic offensive arms.

In Beijing, Bush stated that there is growing appreciation of the fact that national security cannot be ensured in our interconnected world by military means alone. And such words on the American President's lips are very valuable, particularly from the standpoint of those who remember how his predecessor constantly spoke during similar trips about ensuring security in Asia by purely military means.

By all appearances, the appeals to arm in the face of the "Soviet threat" are, like the attempts to play various anti-Soviet cards in Asia, disappearing into the past. They are being replaced by a different policy, one that is not built on the desire to set some states off against others. Thus, the Chinese leaders and the American President discussed in the greatest detail the whole gamut of international realations, paying special attention to relations with the USSR. Here Bush noted that their normalization was "a good thing."

It is perfectly natural that U.S.-Chinese relations took pride of place in the talks in Beijing. And while noting their development, the sides did not skirt existing difficulties. The Chinese side pointed out in no uncertain terms that there are forces operating in the United States intent on hampering the development of those relations. Bush, for his part, assured the Chinese leadership that he considers Taiwan an important issue for the government and the people of China.

During his Asian trip the American President said quite a few fine things about the need for joint efforts to bring about the peaceful settlement of conflicts, solve environmental problems, and ensure global economic growth. It is only to be regretted that Washington does not yet have any discernible positive program to solve these and other issues. Here, the fact that the administration has not yet completed its analysis of the international situation and U.S. relations with other countries has clearly played its part. This has not, however, stopped the President from stating that "the world is waiting for American leadership."

It is also impossible not to notice that, although confrontational stereotypes did not dominate the American President's speeches, he did not abandon them altogether. For example, the President has for the time being no doubt of the necessity of retaining and improving the giant military machine the United States has created in Asia and the Pacific. Thus, while speaking in Seoul about Washington's benevolent attitude toward dialogue between South Korea and the DPRK, the President stressed at the same time that there are no plans to reduce American troops on the Korean peninsula. Their presence promotes "peace and stability in Northeast Asia," in Bush's opinion. And this was said at the very moment when the American-South Korean Team Spirit maneuvers were being held in the south of Korea, which Beijing, quite rightly, regards as blatant provocation; at the very moment when thousands of students in Seoul were holding demonstrations demanding the withdrawal of American troops; at a time when it has already become obvious to all that the American military presence is the main obstacle to North-South dialogue.

Nor did Washington refrain from seeking to embroil other Asian countries in its military designs. In the KYODO interview, Bush specially stressed his satisfaction with the way Japan is building up its military might. Here the President, as reported by the newspaper MAINICHI, broached the question of Japan's potential for waging sustained combat operations, meaning its ability to keep the Japanese Army supplied, bring its reserves up to full strength, and increase the potential of military bases. In the opinion of experts, the newspaper notes, the "Self-Defense" Forces currently have the potential for 10 or so days of "combat operations." Does it have to be said that such calculations have nothing to do with ensuring security in Asia.

What conclusion can be drawn, then, after analyzing the results of the U.S. President's Asian trip? The trip gave rise to and left unanswered the main question: Are American foreign policy priorities in the region changing? Certain statements by the head of the U.S. Administration provide just a hope of this. Hope, but no more. The future will show whether Washington is capable of elaborating and pursuing a policy in Asia that will really promote the building of confidence and the development of cooperation among all countries of the region.

Reportage on Continuing Controversy Over Tower

Tower's Prospects 'Bleak'

PM0303131789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Blinov dispatch: "Argument Over Tower"]

[Text] Washington—Is Tower to be the U.S. secretary of defense or not? For a long time this question has been resolved by a vote in the U.S. Senate. According to the Constitution, the Senate confirms the Cabinet members nominated by the President.

The outcome of the vote will be largely determined by what goes on in a carefully guarded room on the top, fourth floor of the Capitol's Senate wing. This room, intended for secret sessions, has temporarily been turned into a reading room. Senators are taking turns looking at a report by the FBI, which investigated the personal qualities of the candidate for the post of Pentagon chief.

Even the all-knowing U.S. press does not know the details of the report. All that is known is that it runs to more than 300 pages. It is the result of questioning of more than 400 people who have had some kind of contact with Tower. Among them are hotel staff, barmen, liquor store salesmen, and people who have worked with Tower. Attention is focused on Tower's personal predilections and habits.

Why this collection of witnesses whose testimony may determine Tower's ability to head the government department with the biggest budget and staff? It is because during the hearings in the Senate Armed Forces Committee Tower was accused of having a weakness for alcohol and the fair sex.

Meanwhile G. Bush, who has just returned from his trip to Far Eastern countries, is working hard on the senators who have still not made up their minds. Summoning them to the White House's Oval Office, he is trying to persuade them to vote for the candidacy of the secretary he has nominated. Judging by the latest reports, as yet the results are bleak. As Vice President Quayle stated, the White House has still not got the 50 senators' votes needed for success. But, in the words of White House Press Secretary M. Fitzwater, neither Bush nor Tower "has any intention of backing down."

Tower himself has tried to defuse the controversy concerning his habits. In a speech on television last Sunday he stated that if he is confirmed for the post of secretary of defense, he "will not touch liquor, not even wine or beer."

'Heated Squabbles' in Senate

PM0603125389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Commotion on the Potomac. Scandal in the U.S. Congress"]

[Text] Washington, 5 Mar—For 2 whole days last week—Thursday and Friday—the U.S. Senate was the scene of verbal wrangling in which the participants were by no means particular about baiting one another as sharply and painfully as they could. One high-ranking inhabitant of the capital's corridors of power sparked off the stormy scandal: John Tower, the very man whom G. Bush has appointed to the post of defense secretary. It is owing to him that all this trouble has been stirred up, but it is up to the U.S. President to put things right.

However, 4 March marked precisely the 200th anniversary of the first session of the U.S. Congress. Looking back to that important date, journalists worked out that in all that time no President has been refused ratification of his chosen candidate for secretarial office. Never has a member of the Senate been "sent packing" by the chamber in which he used to sit. A Senate committee has not voted against a presidential nominee since 1945, and in the last 30 years the Senate has not rejected White House candidates at all.

No matter whom I talked to at this time, no united opinion was expressed. Some people describe the current events on the Potomac as a "striptease" of American political ethics, while others describe them as quite simply the "pathological dissection" of the U.S. power structure. Still others have no doubt that the country has witnessed the sharp collision of everything that has been

on the boil in the Washington melting pot for a very long time—that is, the struggle for power, personal ambition, score-settling, cynical double standards, and only last of all interparty antagonisms.

No one expected so much to be written, said, and revealed about Tower. In all his 24 years on Capitol Hill he was never particularly the center of public attention. Of course, he was well known as a prestigious senator, chairman of the very influential Armed Services Committee, leader of the U.S. delegation at the talks with the USSR on nuclear and space arms, and member of special presidential commissions investigating all manner of transgressions or seeking the "panacea" in social spheres.

When George Bush called him to his banner, Tower did not think or surmise that his former friends and colleagues in the Senate would arrange for him to undergo "in-depth scrutiny" for the American public's amusement. Alas, that is precisely what happened. Bush's chosen nominee for the Pentagon leadership has been to hell and back, with his every action subjected to microscopic investigation. The discussion concentrated not on his experience, knowledge, and intellectual qualities, but on his behavior at home and in company. It took the form, once someone had started the ball rolling, of dubious descriptions of Tower as a "...dykiller" and an "alcoholic." At the White House's request, the FBI spent several weeks running investigating the facts, rumors, and gossip. The humiliating procedure provided no conclusive answers, but in no way destroyed the noisy barrier to Tower's candidacy.

The explosion happened the week before last when a majority in the Senate Armed Services Committee led by S. Nunn, citing Tower's passion for hard liquor and womanizing, rejected his candidacy and recommended that the Senate do the same.

The committee does not have the last word on the subject, but it does have the first word in terms of significance. However, this time everything was confused in the American legislature. Tower had no fewer supporters than adversaries, although the dividing line in the bitter arguments does depend on party affiliation just the same. Senator Nunn, stressing that a man who is not indifferent to hard liquor should not head the "nuclear team," set the tone of the debate. Tower's close ties with military-industrial corporations, from whom as a private individual he had received six-figure sums, were criticized at the same time.

In other words, from the superficial angle alone, the Democrats have enough arguments to "slate" the White House candidate, especially since they have a majority in the Senate. Observers have voiced their opinion that Tower will not be ratified. It has already been calculated that at this time 36 Republicans are voting "for," 40 Democrats "against," and 23 senators, including 7 Republicans, have not yet made a decision. For the outcome of the confrontation to be in the administration's favor, it must secure all the Republican votes and, in addition, win over five Democrats. In this situation U.S. Vice President D. Quayle, who chairs the Senate under the Constitution, has the right to vote in the ballot and extricate the upper house from this "no-win situation."

Understandably, this is a matter of political "technique." The question of the consequences of the battle over Tower is even more complex and significant for President Bush, who has already been forced by Washington realities to spend capital that he has yet to even accumulate clearly. From the very outset he has unequivocally staked his reputation and prestige on the former senator's candidacy, invariably expressing his conviction that the Democrats' "intrigues" will end in failure.

It is hard to tell how rash his step was. Judging by the way things stand at this moment, the President has overestimated the scale and depth of the positive mood that usually accompanies the first few months of a new administration. Despite all the discussions about "bipartisan spirit," the Democrats in the Congress are quite determined to demonstrate their power.

In other words, the underlying cause of the dispute is the question "Who will win?" Although confidential admissions are being heard with increasing frequency from the White House that the battle is already lost and that Bush has been simply unable to win over a single senator from the opposition or the "neutrals," no changes are being observed publicly in the President's arrogant, provocative stance. This is said to be deliberate.

...Bush will hardly abandon Tower's candidacy publicly. The only option is for the President's candidate to make the decision himself to withdraw his candidacy. Judging from what he has said, he has no intention of doing this. This means that the heated squabbles in the Senate will continue.

A television company recently noted that the Republicans' tactics are reduced to putting on trial not so much Tower's morals as the morals of Washington as a whole. Admittedly, these tactics have not yet been able to break public opinion, but just the same, they do seem to be essentially peeling back the cover of hypocrisy. Is it really a coincidence, for instance, that former Senator B. Goldwater, a veteran of U.S. political skirmishes, made the following comment: "If we're going to expel all the men and women from Washington who have been involved in amorous adventures or who have drunk themselves into a stupor, the government will simply cease to exist."

Be that as it may, even if Tower is "passed" through the Senate, it will be a Pyrrhic victory. What a "honeymoon"!

Bush Reaffirms Support for Tower

LD0603205789 Moscow TASS in English 2050 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev:

President of the United States George Bush on Monday proclaimed again his firm support for John Tower nominated to the post of U.S. secretary of defence. Over a week ago the Senate Armed Services Committee declared by a majority vote against Tower's appointment as secretary of the Department of Defence and recommended that the Senate reject his candidature. Heated debates on Tower's appointment now continue in the Senate.

Obviously seeking to influence senators, Bush opened his speech on Monday at the annual conference of the conservative public organisation "Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U.S.A." precisely with this "matter of special importance". (Many senators have already stated that they will vote against Tower). The head of the White House emphasised that he is not going to give up support of the candidate to the post of defence secretary who came under the fire of criticism and is accused of his abuse of alcohol and womanising in the past. Bush said it is a very interesting fact that not one of the senators called in question Tower's professional knowledge and qualification. Yet many legislators express concern over his close contacts with corporations of the military-industrial complex.

The president's pronouncements clearly reflected irritation with the delay about Tower's appointment. It is only his appointment to the Cabinet that has not yet been endorsed by the Senate. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater emphasised on Monday that the Administration regards Tower to be the best candidate to the post of secretary of defence. He denied reports that appeared in the U.S. press that if Tower's candidature is rejected in the Senate, Brent Scowcroft, now assistant to the president for national security afairs, might be nominated to the post.

U.S. To Withdraw 3 Minesweepers in Gulf

PM0303131589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Leaving Persian Gulf"]

[Text] New York, 1 Mar—The United States has decided to halve the number of minesweepers deployed in the Persian Gulf region at the height of hostilities between Iran and Iraq.

AP reported today, citing Pentagon sources, that three of the six minesweepers there at present are leaving the Gulf. The State Department, according to the same sources, is already notifying Persian Gulf region countries friendly to the United States of this decision.

In the most tense period of the Iran-Iraq war the United States stationed about 30 warships, including a strike aircraft carrier, in the Persian Gulf and at the entrance to it. Explaining the present decision, a high-ranking U.S. Defense Department staffer has told AP that the ships will be withdrawn "as a result of the lessening of the threat" to shipping in the Gulf since agreement was reached on a ceasefire between Iran and Iraq.

Nonetheless General Norman Schwarzkopf, who heads the U.S. Central Command—the armed forces in the Near East—said on Tuesday at Congressional hearings that the withdrawal of U.S. naval forces should be restricted to a framework that "does not create an impression of weakness." From his viewpoint, the further "hasty reduction" of the U.S. military presence creates "the incorrect idea" that the United States is not that "devoted to the interests of maintaining peace in the region."

* Venture With U.S. To Scrap Military Ships

WA1801050789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Capt 1st Rank V. Shirokov: "Profit From Old Ships"]

[Text] "Interscrab" is the name of the first joint American-Soviet firm to "dismantle" old civilian and military ships.

Sea cemeteries for ships. In our country, they can be seen in many coastal cities and military garrisons, in fishing villages and bays. I do not know how they strike others, but such cemeteries always give me a dispiriting impression. In addition, thousands of tons of metal are discarded, and the ecology of the bays is violated.

In the Primorskiy Kray alone, there are over ten of these "monuments of waste."

And what is to be done with old ships? Should they be scuttled or set at dead anchor? What is the solution? It turns out that there is one.

First deputy commander of the Pacific fleet, Vice-Admiral E. Baltin, put it this way:

"We have indeed mismanaged old military ships; dozens have rotted in the sea water. But what could be done if we obviously didn't have enough plants in the country capable of cutting all the decommissioned ships into scrap metal. True, some of the decommissioned ships were sold abroad for smelting. But neither the military sailors, nor the fishermen got anything out of that."

"Yes, this waste should be stopped," A. Suvorov, chief engineer of the "Primorrybprom" production association, feels. "Now there is a way out..."

Recently, "Primorrybprom" and the U.S. company "American General Resources" signed a contract to create a joint venture to dismantle old civilian and military ships. Among the founders of this joint venture are three more Soviet production associations: "Sevryba," "Zapryba" and "Yugrybkholodflot." And this enterprise has been named "Interscrab." In translation, this means "International Metal."

It is already known that according to the conditions of the contract, construction of four plants is contemplated: in the Kozmin Bay, near Nakhodka; and in the cities of Tallinn, Novorossiysk, and Murmansk. In the Far East, all decommissioned military, fishing, and merchant ships from throughout the Primorskiy Kray and the Pacific harbors will be sent to the plant.

According to the contract, the Soviet side will erect shops and other production edifices in Nakhodka. The Americans will supply the construction equipment, the most modern technical equipment, and powerful hoisting devices. And the deep-water moorings, slips, and shops will be built by the construction workers of Nakhodka.

The very technology of ship and vessel "dismantling" is very interesting. Automated gas-cutting rigs will quickly dismantle the ship into parts while it is still afloat. Each of these "parts" will weigh from 8 to 10 tons. Then, strong presses will tamp the metal, to be put into containers for shipping.

How much will this cost? Foreign firms intend to pay 40 dollars for one ton of metal. In rough estimates, the Nakhodka plant alone will supply 120,000 tons of scrap metal for the furnaces. And this is 5 million rubles clear profit.

U.S., Soviet Churches Draft Cooperation Plan

PM0603164189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A program of cooperation has been prepared at a meeting that took place in Moscow of representatives of the Christian churches of the Soviet Union and the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States.

In a special address, Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia welcomed the joint actio... in favor of ecumenical and peace-oriented programs.

As the Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia, chairman of the Moscow Patriarchate Department of Foreign Church Relations, stressed, the discussion that took place occurred in an open and frank atmosphere.

Characterizing the results of the meeting, Ari Brauer [name as transliterated], general secretary of the National Council of the Church of Christ in the United States, stated that it had opened a "new epoch in relations between U.S. and Soviet churches."

China

Katushev Meets PRC Vice Foreign Trade Minister

LD0603193989 Moscow TASS in English 1827 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—Soviet Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev and Chinese Deputy Minister for External Economic Relations and Trade Wang Pinqing exchanged views on the present state and prospects of Soviet-Chinese trade and economic relations on Monday.

The Chinese official is leading a government trade delegation to the talks on the protocol on trade and payments between the USSR and China for 1989.

In the conversation, the sides expressed their mutual interest in the further consolidation and expansion of cooperation in the field of external economic ties on principles of equality and mutual benefit.

Reportage on Tibet Rioting, Casualties

Rioting 'Provoked' by Separatists

OW0703114289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 7 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] Riots in Lhasa, administrative center of the Tibet Autonomous Region of the PRC, have been provoked by Tibetan separatists. [video shows photos of riots, burned houses] As a result of this, 11 people have been killed and more than 100 wounded.

The cause for the clash with police was the unauthorized demonstration by Buddhist monks and nuns calling for Tibet's independence.

XINHUA Version of Events Cited

PM0703155589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Riots in Tibet"]

[Text] Beijing, 6 Mar—XINHUA reports that Tibetan separatists yesterday provoked riots in Lhasa—the administrative center of China's Xizang Autonomous Region—leaving 12 dead and more than 100 injured.

At midday, according to agencies, a small group of monks and nuns started a procession that had not been officially sanctioned, calling for "Tibetan independence." The procession was joined by several hundred

people who threw rocks at a police station, rampaged through many of the city's restaurants, stores, and hotels, and smashed up many police vehicles. The separatists, XINHUA points out, attacked the buildings housing the people's government and the local CPC committee.

During the riots people's armed policemen were shot at—which resulted in one policeman being killed and more than 40 being injured. The rampaging mob also attacked medical personnel trying to give first aid to those injured in the clashes. Under the prevailing circumstances, the agency writes, the police were forced to open fire in retaliation.

In February there were four illegal processions in Lhasa, XINHUA notes.

Khabarovsk-Shenyang Barter Agreement Signed

LD0603124189 Moscow TASS in English 1221 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Khabarovsk March 6 TASS—A barter agreement signed here will promote reciprocal satisfaction of requirements for raw and other materials of the state supply organisations of the Soviet Far East and China

The agreement envisages barter exchanges between the Khabarovsk territorial board of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and Shenyang Wholesale Trade Centre of the Chinese Province of Liaoning.

"The first contract worth four million Swiss francs has also been signed," Vitaliy Shaldug, director of the commercial centre of the board, told a TASS correspondent.

"We shall soon supply the Chinese side with metal, timber and lumber, and chemical industry products from our existing reserves. In exchange we expect to get materials for the interior finishing of buildings, electronic equipment, and consumer goods."

"In order to get to know better the export resources of each other we agreed to arrange exhibitions. The agreement is expected to operate for two years so far. But in case of success, the sides expressed readiness to cooperate for a longer period."

Panfilov-Yining Highway Opens to Traffic

OW0703142089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] A highway directly linking a Soviet border city and a Chinese border city was opened to traffic on Thursday. The two cities are Panfilov in southeastern Kazakh SSR and Yining City in northwestern China. In the last few months, Soviet and Chinese delegations have held talks on jointly building some consumer goods factories in eastern Kazakh SSR.

USSR-PRC Transport Routes Discussed

OW0703064089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Listeners: Let's talk about motor transport routes between the Soviet Union and China. [passage omitted]

Since 1983, the Soviet Motor Transport Company has resumed transport business with China. (Tachisweili), general manager of the Soviet Motor Transport Company, told this station:

[(Tachisweili) is heard briefly, speaking in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation]: Over the past few years, the freight volume between our company and China has increased markedly. This is because the volume of trade between our two nations has increased constantly. At present, there are several routes on the Soviet-Chinese border. These include the 345-km route between Taldy-Kurgan and (Kuergez) in Kazakhstan, and the 375-km route between Rybachye and Torugart in Kirghiz. Last year, cargo totalling 150,000 metric tons was shipped on these two routes. The freight volume this year is expected to increase 200 percent over last year. Passenger service between Taldy-Kurgan and (Kuergez), as well as routes to China's inland areas, will open very soon. An agreement has already been reached [as heard] with the Chinese side. Buses of the Soviet Motor Transport Company will transport between 20,000 and 25,000 passengers annually. Most of them will be Soviets and Chinese. Prospects for motor transport between the Soviet Union and China are very bright. [end recording]

(Tachisweili) pointed out: There certainly will be some difficulties. However, these problems will be solved after the two governments sign a motor transport agreement. Such an agreement is being drafted. [as heard]

PRC's Economic Reform Problems Viewed

PM0703160989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Ganshin report: "Paradoxes in Development. Is the Government Losing Control of the Economy?"]

[Text] A press briefing was held recently in Beijing at which, XINHUA reports, Zhang Zhongji, official spokesman for the PRC State Statistics Administration, announced the results of the country's economic and social development for 1988.

He described last year as "a year of unusual economic revival and instability." An apparently paradoxical statement. How can "revival" correlate with "instability"—a concept belonging to a different dimension, as they say, if not a contradictory concept. At the same time, on close familiarization with the statistics, one can conclude that the assessment is not contradictory.

Despite an 11.2 percent increase in China's GNP in 1988 compared to 1987, and 20.3 and 3.2 percent increases respectively in gross industrial and agricultural output, there are marked signs within the country of inflation and price increases for many consumer goods. Thus, the press notes a reduction, as a result of last year's inflation, in the living standards of more than two-thirds of China's 200 million urban inhabitants. Data are cited according to which the real income of almost 35 percent of urban families has dropped owing to an 18.5-percent increase in retail prices. The fact that pensioners, state employees, and certain other categories of the population living on fixed incomes are the most vulnerable in the face of inflation has aroused the government's concern. The fact that the cost of living in cities this January was almost one-third above that of January last year, despite the PRC Government's resolute steps to eliminate inflation processes and curb prices, also looks alarming.

The reasons for these phenomena lie, so Zhang Zhongji stated, in the excessive increase in industrial production, which was out of step with the low rate of development of agricultural production. The fuel and power sectors have clearly lagged behind the processing industry, which is developing at ever-increasing rates, and so on. Nor was everything well in agriculture, where there were virtually no signs of an increase in grain, cotton, and oil-seed crop production.

Certain foreign surveys that have appeared recently indicate that the Chinese Government is allegedly losing control over the situation in the economy and centrifugal forces are taking the management levers out of the government's hands.

Is that the case? Here is what Chinese documents say on this.

The reform initiated in China 10 years ago and its practical implementation has, alongside the indisputable successes, revealed and in a number of cases exacerbated a number of serious problems.

In the unfavorable economic situation that emerged toward the end of 1988, the PRC leadership was forced to adopt the decision at the 13th Session of the Third Plenum of the CPC Central Committee to postpone for several years the planned reform of price formation and wages. A program of measures was elaborated at the same time to "improve economic conditions and improve the economic order with a view to reducing the scale of public demand and curbing inflation."

In accordance with the demands of the plenum, people in China embarked on implementing a whole complex of anti-inflation measures. These include improving financial organs' control and accounting functions, ensuring the timely and complete mobilization into the budget of tax payments, and reducing money payments (in particular, through wider use of cheques in payment operations).

The government proposes to make broader use of the practice of issuing bonds, shares, and other securities in order to reduce the population's large deferred demand. A definite place has been allocated to accelerating control over state sector enterprises' establishment of prices on output produced. Special auditing groups sent to enterprises to verify the justifiability of the wholesale prices they set have been created at the central and provincial level...

On publishing the PRC State Statistics Administration's report with the preliminary results of the country's economic and social development in 1988, RENMIN RIBAO gave the following laconic description of the situation on the eve of 1989: "The economic situation is gradually improving, foreign economic ties are developing, and new successes in the development of science and technology have been achieved. At the same time, public demand is still too great and the price increases too rapid, and real income for some of the population has dropped."

I think this assessment objectively corresponds with the real state of affairs in the PRC economy.

Near East & South Asia

Polyakov Says Israel Pressured on Conference

LD0303184689 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 1714 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 3 Mar (KUNA)—The Soviet Union again praised the role played by the six-man committee headed by Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir in tackling the Lebanese issue.

This was stated during a meeting the Arab ambassadors held with the chairman of the Middle East desk at the Soviet Foreign Ministry Vladimir Polyakov today. [passage omitted]

Diplomatic sources told KUNA that Polyakov told the Arab ambassadors that Israel is presently being subjected to great pressures which must result in Israeli acceptance of the idea of convening the international conference on settlement in the area—an idea Israel has been rejecting.

These sources quoted Polyakov as saying: the Soviet Union has felt that Tel Aviv has begun to realize the great role the Soviet Union can play in settling the Middle East problem. [passage omitted]

The sources said that during the meeting Polyakov made a call to turn the Middle East into a nuclear weapons-free zone when he said that the area has become an arsenal of all kinds of weapons.

On the situation in the Arabian Gulf area after the cease-fire in the Iraq-Iran war, the Soviet official said, according to the sources, that Baghdad and Tehran want peace and do not want to breach the cease-fire, in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution No 598. But he said that suspicions and lack of confidence still remain the stumbling bloc in the peace talks between them.

The recent tour of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze included a visit to Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Jordan, and Syria.

Public Figures Denounce Israeli Repression

LD0603200189 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—Prominent figures of Soviet science and culture and representatives of non-government and religious organisations have condemned Israeli repressions against Palestinian civilians.

In a statement issued today in support of the Palestinian people's cause the Soviet public figures pointed out that Israel had been trying in vain for more than a year to suppress the peaceful Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories.

Inhabitants of the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem are daily subjected to ruthless brutality. Hundreds of people have been killed and thousands were wounded, including women and children, in punitive operations against civilians, the statement said.

The international community represented by the United Nations, many government and public organisations strongly denounce Israel's actions on the occupied territories, describing them as a gross violation of recognised human rights.

In condemning the crackdown by the occupation troops on the Palestinian civilians, the Soviet public representatives called upon the Israeli public to urge the government to abandon the pointless collision course which has become the main obstacle toward obtaining peace in the Middle East and leads toward the exacerbation of economic hardships in the country and its further isolation in the international arena.

The statement expressed the Soviet people's firm solidarity with the Palestinian people and their heroic uprising and called upon international public organisations to increase the pressure for eliminating tension in the Middle East and supporting efforts at attaining the earliest fair settlement of the Middle East conflict through convening a UN-sponsored international conference.

Positive Israeli Response to PLO Urged

LD0503183989 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1600 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] (Igor Ratsov), our correspondent in the Middle East, addressed the following question to Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sa'ih, chairman of the Palestine National Committee [PNC]: What can be done to secure implementation of the resolutions adopted by the PNC at its session in Algiers?

[Begin Al-Sa'ih recording] In order for these resolutions to be implemented, the world, and especially Israel, must understand that the PLO has taken in the PNC brave and daring steps to prove to the world that it wants peace and security for its people, and wants others to live and survive in peace.

However, if Israel remains obstinate and arrogant and keeps insisting on not recognizing the PLO and on not accepting the international conference, then it will be the only obstacle to achieving peace in the world. Then the international community should adopt a serious stance to force it to submit to the international resolutions. The international community should exert pressure on the United States, which adopts and embraces Israel and takes its side to the extent that in the recent resolution agreed on by 14 states at the UN Security Council, only the United States refused it and used the veto.

The way to implement the resolutions and to carry on the brave and daring stance adopted by the PNC is to force Israel to respond to the wishes of the international community so that peace, security, and confidence prevail in the world. [end recording]

U.S., UK Pro-Israel Policy Harms Palestinians

LD0603175489 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Albert Balebanov commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—By TASS political analyst Albert Balebanov:

The United States and Great Britain have brought pressure to bear on the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) to wrest political concessions from it, obviously harming the Palestinians' struggle for an independent and sovereign state of their own.

According to the BBC an official spokesman of George Bush's administration has stated that the United States would not enter into any concrete negotiations with the PLO on an international Middle East conference until Israel makes clear its stand on this matter. Reporting on

the "difficulties which have emerged in the dialogue between the United States and the PLO", LE MONDE notes that the United States intends to "draw conclusions for itself, which will tell negatively on the American-Palestinian dialogue". For his part, the British minister of state, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, William Waldegrave, has stated, according to news reports, that his government was against the creation of an independent Palestinian state and would not take part in any peace conference that did not meet the interests of Israel.

These statements by American and British officials, obviously made in the interests of Tel Aviv, show that Washington and London have closely coordinated their actions. It is beyond doubt that their demarches were made under the pressure of pro-Israeli lobbies which carry much weight both in the United States and in Great Britain.

It is common knowledge that Tel Aviv had vigorously opposed last year's decisions of the Reagan administration and of several West European governments, including the British Cabinet, to start an official dialogue with the PLO. Since then Israel had never stopped its attempts to stem the course of events and escape the international isolation in which it had landed due to its aggressive policy.

It is notable that neither the United States nor Great Britain, which shift accents in their Middle East policy so readily, exert sufficient efforts to make Tel Aviv comply with the main requirement—withdrawal from the occupied Arab lands and discontinuation of bloody terror against Palestinians.

It has not escaped the attention of observers that the United States and Great Britain had timed their actions for the last days of the Soviet foreign minister's Middle East tour, striving thereby to play down its significance, to prevent the realisation of proposals to settle the regional conflict peacefully, advanced by the USSR and backed by other countries.

The ill-fated "Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine", the 32nd annivesary of which falls due these days, involuntarily comes to one's mind in this connection. It was concocted for the purpose of "saving" the Middle East from the "threat of Soviet communism". The United States had thus explained then its interference, including armed intervention, in the affairs of Middle East countries. The "Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine", intended as it was to suppress the Arab national liberation movement, was a patent example of how the U.S. and its Atlantic allies endeavoured to decide arbitrarily questions of war and peace in the region. Is this Washington's and London's purpose today too?

Afghan Foreign Minister Wakil Visits India

Condemns U.S., Pakistan

LD0403100789 Moscow TASS in English 0850 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] New Delhi March 4 TASS—The attempts by the opposition to overthrow by military means the Afghan Government have failed. Western journalists who came to Kabul to witness its collapse have started leaving the country, 'Abdul Wakil, foreign minister of Afghanistan, now visiting India, said in an interview with the Indian newspaper THE TIMES OF INDIA. "The psychological warfare against the Najibullah government launched by some Western countries had proved to be ineffective", he said.

The minister noted that the opposition had no common programme, especially after the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops. Most of its activists were mercenaries employed by the U.S. and Pakistan. The Consultative Council (shura), which was convened in Pakistan, had turned out to be a comedy and no country had taken the so-called interim government seriously. At the same time, several opposition groups were in touch with the government.

The government forces and the people of the country were now prepared for any situation, including an open attack by Pakistan, the minister said. He sharply criticised the Pakistani idea of creating a confederation of Pakistan and Afghanistan and stressed that Afghanistan had an ancient civilisation with a tradition of the struggle for independence.

The Afghan minister said the U.S. and Pakistan had grossly miscalculated the situation in Afghanistan. At the same time, both the U.S. and Pakistan were interested in a bloodbath in Afghanistan and that was why they were continuing to interfere in the affairs of his country even after the withdrawal of the Soviet forces.

'Abdul Wakil stressed that the U.S. and the Soviet Union had a role to play as guarantors under the Geneva accord on Afghanistan.

Meets Press in New Delhi

LD0603160689 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] New Delhi March 6 TASS—The Afghan people and its armed forces are ready and able to uphold the territorial integrity and independence of their country, Afghanistan's Foreign Minister, 'Abdul Wakil told a news conference in the Indian capital on Monday.

The minister said that after the completion of the Soviet troop pullout from Afghanistan, the interference into Afghanistan's affairs by Pakistan and the United States has been stepped up. Islamabad and Washington grossly violate the obligations they assumed under the Geneva

accords. The extremist groups they back do everything to seize if only a part of the Afghan territory, try to block roads along which food and other cargoes for the peaceful population are delivered. And Pakistani commandos take part in combat operations on the side of units of the implacable opposition. Advisers from some other countries also render assistance to the opposition. Afghanistan has informed the United Nations representatives of this.

But all the efforts of Afghanistan's enemies prove futile, the minister said. In all the years of the war the U.S.A. and Pakistan have not been able to achieve any of their aims. They have acheived one thing, that bloodshed continues. But the Afghan people are tired of it. Not only the government and its Armed Forces, but also the opposition are tired. And a number of commanders of the opposition units have got into contact with the government and are conducting negotiations for peace, 'Abdul Wakil told the news conference.

The Afghan leadership has made important initiatives for national reconciliation, for the creation of a government having the broadest of support and invite all the parties to a dialogue. This course meets with the approval of the people, the minister said.

Touching upon his visit to India, 'Abdul Wakil expressed profound satisfaction with its results. India and Afghanistan have always been linked by friendly, brotherly relations. India renders important economic support to Afghanistan, the minister said. He said that in reply to the request of the Afghan Government, it agreed to expand economic and humanitarian aid. He said the Afghan Government also expects support from the Nonaligned Movement of which India is an important participant.

India, USSR Combat Role in Afghanistan Denied

PM0603133189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Roundup by D. Meshchaninov and N. Paklin, correspondent in Delhi: "Islamabad and Washington Not Fulfilling Pledges"]

[Text] [Meshchaninov] The United States and Pakistan have been wrong in their assessment of the situation in Afghanistan. At the same time, they are interested in prolonging the bloodshed in that country and therefore are continuing their interference in its internal affairs even after the Soviet troop withdrawal. However, government forces and the country's people are currently prepared for any situation, including an open attack from Pakistan, Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil has stated during an official visit to India.

IZVESTIYA's own correspondent reports from Delhi:

[Paklin] The Indian mass media continue to devote great attention to the development of the situation in and around Afghanistan. "There is no direct threat to Kabul," proclaims the headline of a correspondent's dispatch from the Afghan capital for THE TIMES OF INDIA, the oldest Indian newspaper.

This Indian correspondent's impression was reaffirmed during a talk I had with two French journalists recently returned to Delhi from Kabul. They had spent almost a month in the Afghan capital waiting, in their words, for "decisive events." These "events" are also being awaited by another 150 Western journalists who have descended on Kabul.

"However, to our amazement the mujahidin have not only failed to storm Kabul, but did not launch any active operations after the Soviet troops left the city," the French journalists said. "Calm has prevailed in the Afghan capital for the last few days. Some people think that the mujahidin are being prevented from mounting offensive operations by the winter and the severe climatic conditions. Others believe that the reason for the delayed offensive lies in the disunity in the ranks of the armed opposition. We got the impression that Kabul is rather too much for the mujahidin. Clearly, they are incapable of mounting major offensive operations against the regular army, which has modern weapons to boot."

Recently a number of mass media reports, our Delhi correspondent continues, have disseminated a story about Indian pilots participating in Afghan Air Force combat operations against armed opposition detachments. Moreover, it transpires that the source of this story was the mujahidin AFGHAN NEWS SERVICE, [name of press agency as received] which operates on Pakistani territory. Answering a question from opposition deputies, Natwar Singh, Indian minister of state for external affairs, categorically refuted these rumors. "The opposition is unwilling to admit that it is suffering at the hands of Afghan pilots. That is why it is dreaming up fairy tales about 'Indian participation,'" a ranking official from the Indian Ministry of External Affairs said in conversation with this correspondent. "A political goal is also being pursued: to cast aspersions on India, which maintains friendly relations with neighboring Afghanistan and has made its own contribution to ensuring a peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem..."

[Meshchaninov] Disinformation and downright lies are still being used by those who have no interest in seeing a peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem. The following statement on this point was made at a routine USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center briefing by G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate:

"Yet another example of this kind has been provided by the Pakistani mass media. In particular, it is claimed that Moscow has not withdrawn its troops from the Vakhan Corridor and has allegedly annexed that region. These

allegations are absurd, as is the claim that the USSR has reached agreement with President Najibullah and Sadruddin Aga Khan, special coordinator of the UN humanitarian and economic aid programs to Afghanistan, on settling the Vakhan Corridor with members of the Ismaili sect in order to create the world's only pro-Soviet Ismaili state formation. All this does not square with reality. The last Soviet soldier from the limited contingent left Afghan territory—and, consequently, the Vakhan Corridor—15 February."

These articles are probably aimed at deflecting world public attention away from Pakistan's violations of its obligations under the Geneva accords. One gets the impression, the Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed, that some people both inside and outside Pakistan would like to compromise the noble UN efforts to provide humanitarian aid to the Afghan people and wreck the emergency aid program to Afghanistan headed by the well-known public figure Sadruddin Aga Khan.

The Afghan Red Crescent Society has sent the International Red Cross Committee, the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and similar societies in the United States, the FRG, Britain, France, Sweden, and Iran a message asking for humanitarian aid and for assistance to Afghanistan in ending bloodshed and restoring peace in the country.

Pakistan and the United States, the message notes, are FAILING TO FULFILL THE PLEDGES THEY MADE IN GENEVA. This has resulted in an escalation of combat operations on Afghan soil. The Afghan Red Crescent Society asks also that food, clothing, and basic necessities be sent to the country to help the Afghan people, who are suffering hunger and privation through the fault of the hard-line opposition.

According to a REUTER report, Afghan Vice President 'Abdurrahim Hatif, who is in Geneva, has stated that President Najibullah would resign if such a step would promote the establishment of peace in the country. "However, this is not a panacea, it is not the only solution to the problem," he stated at a press conference. 'Abdurrahim Hatif stressed that the Afghan Government continues to advocate the creation of a representative coalition government that would strive to establish calm in Afghanistan. The Afghan vice president condemned the U.S. and Pakistani authorities, who are continuing to supply the opposition with weapons and munitions in violation of the Geneva accords.

Mujahidin Repelled in Parva, Qandahar, Herat

LD0703094189 Moscow TASS in English 0835 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 7 TASS—Afghan army units defeated on Monday the rebel unit that attacked columns carrying food and fuel in the Province of Parvan. Nine extremists were killed and 15 wounded, the BAKHTAR News Agency reports. Government troops staged an operation for eliminating armed opposition detachments on the road connecting Jalalabad with the district of Sorubi. Thirty opponents of people's power were killed and 17 wounded. The "irreconcilable" sustained perceptible losses in manpower in the provinces of Qandahar and Herat. According to BAKHTAR, two Afghan army servicemen were killed and another two wounded.

Another column brought food and fuel to Kabul from the country's northern areas on Monday. Some 180 trucks and petrol tankers brought there hundreds of tons of kerosene, diesel fuel, a large amount of flour, rice, oil and sugar. However, state-owned and private cars are at a standstill in Kabul because of a fuel shortage.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry handed in to UN observers in Kabul the 279th, 280th and 281st notes which cite new facts of the violation by Pakistan of provisions of the Geneva accords.

Deputies of the lower chamber of Afghan parliament came up with a statement denouncing the creation in Rawalpindi of a "transitional government" of the Afghan opposition. The statement said that the very proclamation of this "government" formed under the aegis of the Pakistani secret services was a gross violation of the standards of international law and provisions of the Geneva accords. It constitutes an interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country.

Afghan Red Crescent Asks Aid; Battles Reported

LD0303115289 Moscow TASS in English 1052 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 3 TASS—The Red Crescent Society of the Republic of Afghanistan has sent a message to the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, as well as to similar societies of the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain, France, Sweden, and Iran in a request for humanitarian aid and for assistance to Afghanistan in its efforts to stop the bloodshed and to restore peace in the country.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was completed within the set time limit in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Accords, the mesage emphasises. At the same time, Pakistan and the United States do not fulfill the obligations which they took upon themselves in Geneva. This resulted in an escalation of the fratricidal war on Afghan soil, the message points out.

The Afghan Red Crescent Society also requested sending food, clothes and prime necessities to the country in aid to the Afghan people who are experiencing hunger and privations through the fault of the intransigent opposition.

Afghan Army units delivered a strike at the insurgents' basing areas in Nangarhar Province, killing more than 90 and wounding 65 extremists and destroying dozens of enemy weapon emplacements. Government troops edged opposition groups out of areas adjacent to the Kabul-Jalalabad road, killing 17 and wounding more than 20 insurgents.

Anti-government groups also sustained telling losses in Qandahar and Herat provinces. More than 140 adversaries of the people's power were killed over the past twenty-four hours.

Extremists shelled the cities of Khowst and Herat and a number of populated areas in Ghurbaz [name as received] and Jaji Meydan districts in Paktia Province. The BAKHTAR News Agency reported that one civilian had been killed and six Afghan Army servicemen injured.

More than 220 Afghans returned to Pakistan from Helmand Province. Local authorities gave material assistance to the repatriates and provided them with transport to get to their native village.

According to reports reaching here from Salang Pass, the Kabul-Hayraton road is open to traffic again. Convoys of vehicles carrying food and fuel are on their way to the Afghan capital. However, an avalanche hazard and ice-crusted ground are persisting in Janjan [name as received] and Jabal-os Saraj areas.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent another three notes to the UN observers' mission in Kabul, giving new facts of Pakistan's violations of the provisions of the Geneva agreements.

Afghanistan's Political Situation Viewed

PM0303122389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

["Afghanistan Today" feature consisting of a TASS Kabul report under the subhead "Supreme Defense Council Session," a dispatch by L'HUMANITE correspondent Francis Cremieux for PRAVDA under the subhead "Break In The Clouds," and a "Rejoinder" from V. Shurygin under the subhead "Tried Out For Size..."]

[Text]

Supreme Defense Council Session

Kabul, 2 Mar—Questions of reinforcing the ranks of the armed forces and resisting attacks by hard-line opposition groupings were discussed at a session of the Republic of Afghanistan's Supreme Defense Council today.

Speaking at the session, President Najibullah dwelt on the tasks facing the council. He stressed that it is the sacred duty of every citizen and patriot to defend the fatherland at this difficult moment in Afghanistan's history. Afghan Army servicemen, the president pointed out, are displaying courage and heroism and can inflict a crushing blow on the enemy.

Break in the Clouds

Over the last 10 years the situation in Afghanistan has automatically been defined as "complex" by Soviet and Afghan leaders. This is becoming less and less the case. The black clouds are dispersing and patches of clear sky can be seen through the breaks in the clouds.

It all began on 25 February 1986, 3 years (that is, if you do not count 10 days) before the last Soviet soldier passed through Termez. That day Gorbachev stated at the 27th CPSU Congress that the troops would be withdrawn as soon as a political settlement was reached.

In Afghanistan, from where I am sending this report, an outstanding "qualitative change" has assumed concrete form. As a man who has made five trips to this country in the last 3 years, I am now feeling very optimistic.

Why? Because the two aims pursued by the opposition as it roused national public opinion during the war, namely to "defend Islam" and combat the so-called occupiers—"kafirs," infidels [as received]—have been rendered meaningless.

No one can claim that Islam is being persecuted in Afghanistan. Muslim fundamentalists like Gulbuddin Hekmatyar try in vain to award certificates to "good Muslims" and censure "bad Muslims." This speculation has stopped reaping dividends.

Even if the Soviet "infidels" are no longer physically present, there is still their firm friendship and assistance. When, on the one hand, rockets still fall from the sky and kill Kabul children while, on the other, sacks of flour are arriving via the Soviet airlift to save starving children, it is stupid to believe that the Afghans cannot see the difference. That kind of thinking is an insult to this people's common sense.

The alliance of progressive forces formed around the PDPA is open to everyone. The policy that has received the title of "national reconciliation" is being countered only by a policy that leads to a war to the last Afghan, to continuing bloodshed and the country's destruction.

So, fighters are needed to wage war. The oppositionists could have previously replied as follows to the question "What are you fighting for": "For Islam and to expel the infidels." They cannot say that now.

Collective ownership of private means of production, land, or the rare plants here was not the revolution's objective. It wanted to pull this people out of the darkness of the Middle Ages onto the road of a bright future and to ease the lives of peasants suffering from

debt and over-exploitation by feudal landowners. Naturally, the counterrevolution won support among yesterday's people and politicians. Escape into the past was a response to people's despair over the future. It took 10 years for peace—which is still the prime requirement at the end of the 20th century—to be so accessible. It is actually happening.

Tried Out For Size...

The Afghan national news agency has reported that in Pakistan opposition field commanders and political leaders have set a date and time for beginning the assault on the city of Jalalabad in western Afghanistan. The "transitional government" set up recently on Pakistani territory has formed a police force there "to ensure order in the city after it is captured."

Such reports come at a time when Kabul is making repeated appeals to the opposition to show common sense, stop shooting, and come to the negotiating table to settle contentious issues on the basis of reasonable compromise and with consideration for the interests of the opposing sides. All indications are that the Peshawar opposition leaders are continuing the saber-rattling and trying out statesmen's official robes. As we can see, it is not only ministerial portfolios that are being shared out but also police precincts. This is very much like sharing out the hide of a live bear.

The increase in opposition military preparations on Pakistani territory is not in line with official Islamabad's statements concerning its adherence to a political solution of the Afghan problem, let alone Pakistan's fulfillment of the Geneva agreements and the decisions of the UN General Assembly session urging all countries in the world community to promote inter-Afghan dialogue and a cease-fire in Afghanistan.

* Turkmen Oblast, Afghan Province Strengthen Ties

WA1807014189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by V. Kushelov: "To Trade and To Befriend"]

[Text] A bilateral document, "The Program for Development of Friendly Relations Between Chardzhou Oblast, Turkmen SSR and Faryab Province, Republic of Afghanistan, for 1989-1990," has been signed in Chardzhou. This once again affirms the readiness of a Soviet republic to infuse further cooperation with concrete acts, economic exchange, and scientific and cultural ties between two neighboring countries.

Almost 2 years ago a serious step was made in this direction. In June 1987, the Turkmen SSR Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat adopted the resolution on the establishment of direct ties between the Ashkhabad, Mary, and Chardzhou oblasts and the border provinces of Herat, Badghiz and Faryab. Agreements were signed, and soon after the exchange of delegations, Afghan personnel began to prepare and study at enterprises and educational institutions in Turkmenia. Border trade received a new impetus. Last year there was more than R3,000,000 of import-export along these lines between just the Afghan wholesale company "Dusti," a union of peasants' cooperatives and the Afghan private sector, and "Turkmenpotrebsoyuz" alone. Today they say at "Turkmenpotrebsoyuz" that collaboration for border trade will be significantly expanded.

"Both we and the Afghan merchants have an interest in mutually advantageous trade," feels "Turkmenpotrebsoyuz" Chairman of the Board N. Nurklychev. "The supply of currants, nuts, almonds, and other goods that are not always so easy to get from 'Tsentrosoyuz' serves as a great help in saturating our market. And everyday Soviet household items, grocery products, and simple little devices—these are absolute necessities in every Afghan family, especially now, after the years-long, exhausting war...."

"Our people are tired of war," Meymene Abulakhad Ulusi, [name as received] leader of the Faryab Province delegation, said to me. "Today everyone thinks only about how to build a new life, how to solve pointed economic and social issues. And I am certain that whatever the times bring, without the friendly support of the Soviet Union, and collaboration with it, we cannot solve our problems...."

"For our part, we are prepared to assist the amicable people in this matter," said Turkmen SSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Rakhmanov. "Restructuring and activation of the foreign-policy activity of our country are opening broad prospects for expansion of collaboration with Afghanistan, not only in trade development, but also in businesslike strengthening of our mutual trust and friendship, and in active assistance in rehabilitating the shattered economy and the creation of normal conditions for this long-suffering people."

CPSU Delegation Attends Indian CP Congress

Leaves for Delhi 3 Mar

PM0503182789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by K. Makhkamov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, left Moscow for Delhi 3 March to take part in the work of the 14th Communist Party of India Congress at the invitation of the Communist Party of India National Council.

Attends Congress Opening

LD0603204989 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Calcutta, West Bengal March 6 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Leonid Kotov:

The 14th Congress of the Indian Communist Party has opened here on Monday. As many as 1,200 delegates elected by party organisations in all Indian states and union territories are present at the forum held in Calcutta's Salt Lake Stadium. Representatives of 43 fraternal communist and workers parties, among them a delegation of the Soviet Communist Party headed by Kakhar Makhkamov, a member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the first secretary of the Central Committee of Tajikistan's Communist Party, attend the congress.

Inaugurating the congress, Rajeshwara Rao, the general secretary of the National Council of the Indian Communist Party, emphasised that the congress is held in the atmosphere of profound positive changes in the international situation. The peace initiatives of the leadership of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries made it possible to ensure a transition from confrontation to a dialogue in the world arena. Real prospects for the elimination of nuclear armaments, for ridding humanity of the threat of destruction in a nuclear catastrophe has been created as a result.

India continues the policy aimed at safeguarding universal peace, at supporting the struggle of anti-imperialist and national liberation movements, the leader of the Communist Party of India said. He said special satisfaction is evoked by close and many-faceted relations between India and the Soviet Union. The Delhi Declaration signed by secretary-general of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi gave an impetus to the advance of the whole world to the creation of a nuclear weapon-free and non-violent world, he said. The efforts in this direction also helped end conflicts in various areas of the globe, which has made it possible to achieve certain success in normalising the international situation, Rajeshwara Rao said.

The leader of the Indian Communist Party positively appraised the political processes in Pakistan and Sri Lanka which created conditions for the development of India's friendly relations with those countries. Rajiv Gandhi's recent visit to China and his talks with Chinese leaders created an opportunity for resolving problems in relations between the two countries, for the restoration of friendly ties between India and China, he said.

Summing up the political situation in India, Rajeshwara Rao said that over three years that had passed since the 13th Congress of the Indian Communist Party, the party has considerably intensified the struggle for the interests of the Indian working people. The Indian Communist Party, jointly with other left parties, resolutely upholds the unity of the Indian people and rebuffs intrigues aimed at splitting Indian people and inciting religious strife. The Indian Communist Party, which has a membership of over 455,000, intends to continue to play an active role in the struggle for the consolidation of left and democratic forces in the country, for the interests of the proletariat and working peasantry of India, Rajeshwara Rao said.

The 14th Congress of the Indian Communist Party continues.

CPSU Greets Indian Communist Party Congress

PM0603123389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 March 1989 Second Edition p 1

[Text] To the 14th Indian Communist Party Congress.

Dear Comrades,

The CPSU Central Committee sends ardent fraternal greetings and wishes of successful work to the delegates of the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of India.

Today mankind is at the turning point of its history. People are becoming increasingly aware of the need for a transition from confrontation to cooperation, to a world without violence and war based on the recognition of priority of general human values and the freedom of choice. International tensions are decreasing, the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty is being implemented, and there are signs of a turn towards the settlement of regional conflicts through political means.

However, great efforts are still needed to make these positive trends in world affairs irreversible. Mankind's transition into a period of peace is inconceivable without close interaction of the democratically-minded public, progressive political parties, and movements.

Having launched a large-scale programme of restructuring Soviet society, our party sets itself the task of qualitatively renewing socialism and unfolding its potential to the maximum. To this end, thorough political and economic reforms are being carried out, and democratisation and glasnost serve the same purpose. The guarantee of the success of restructuring lies in the resolute support the entire Soviet people render.

The CPSU and the CPI are tied by strong bonds of friendship of long standing. People in the Soviet Union are fully aware of the selfless struggle of the Communist Party of India for the fundamental interests of the working people, for peace and disarmament and appreciate its contribution to strengthening Soviet-Indian cooperation.

Let the fraternal ties between the CPSU and the Communist Party of India, and friendship between the Soviet and Indian peoples strengthen and develop.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee.

Joint Venture With India for Personal Computers

LD0603212289 Moscow TASS in English 1655 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—The export of Soviet-made software and the manufacture of personal computers of various kinds is the aim of a new Soviet-Indian joint venture. The documents about its institution were signed on Monday. For the Soviet side, they were signed by Elektronorgtechnika foreign trade amalgamation, the Ministry of the Forestry Industry and Energiya scientific and production amalgamation. For the Indian side it was signed by the Ramtech Industries Ltd.

The enterprise will produce up to 40,000 personal computers a year. The enterprise will also export programmes made by Energiya amalgamation, which is among the creators of the new Soviet space system Energiya-Buran.

USSR-PDRY Trade Protocol Signed in Aden

LD0503104889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 5 Mar 89

[From the "Time, Events, People" program]

[Text] In Aden, the Seventh Session of the Permanent Commission on Economic and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen has ended. A protocol concerning the extension and development of technical and economic cooperation between the two friendly countries was signed on the results of the session. Particular attention was paid to strengthening cooperation in the oil industry and in mineral resources, fishing and agriculture, housing construction, transport and communications, and personnel training.

Supreme Soviet Official Meets PDRY Visitors

PM0603142789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 27 February, T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met with a group of senior workers from the PDRY Supreme People's Council and the PDRY Council of Ministers administration for local self-management, who are in the Soviet Union on a working visit.

East Europe

LCY's Suvar on Problems, Socialism, Ties

PM0303133189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 First Edition p 6

["Interview with Comrade Stipe Suvar, President of the LCY Central Committee Presidium," by B. Averchenko, member of the PRAVDA Editorial Collegium, and Ye. Fadeyev, PRAVDA own correspondent in the SFRY, in Belgrade: "Socialism Has Passed the Test of History...."; date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Comrade Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, received Boris Averchenko, member of the PRAVDA Editorial Collegium, and Yevgeniy Fadeyev, PRAVDA's own correspondent in the SFRY, and answered their questions. We publish below a transcript of this interview, which took place in the LCY Central Committee.

[Correspondents] Our peoples' destinies have been repeatedly intertwined in both the distant and the recent past. Soviet people follow fraternal Yugoslavia's life with profound interest and sympathy. In your view, how are our mutual relations and cooperation developing in various spheres?

[Suvar] Yugoslavia's peoples, like the Soviet Union's peoples, have struggled through their history for freedom and the progress of culture and civilization, and they have succeeded in their struggle. In the past the ideas of pan-Slavism played a positive role in the struggle and the national rebirth of the southern Slavs, while Russia helped the southern Slav peoples in their efforts to cast off centuries of enslavement by the Ottoman Empire. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 3 March republishes the Suvar interview in its Second Edition, with several variations. The Second Edition version omits the preceding two sentences]

The ties between the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union are especially strong in their modern history—from the time of great October to this day. More than 30,000 Yugoslavs, Josip Broz Tito among them, took part in the October socialist Revolution. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia was created on the basis of Lenin's ideas in April 1919. We in our country emphasize not only the momentous and crucial role of the October revolution in Russia, but also the fact that it inspired our own workers and socialist movement. Already in existence beforehand, it rallied in the wake of October in order to prepare and ultimately accomplish a socialist revolution in Yugoslavia, proceeding from our country's specific features and finding its own solutions.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia addressed an appeal to our peoples to rise against the fascist aggressors immediately following the attack by Hitler's Germany against the Soviet Union. There were 810,000 soldiers of the new Yugoslav Army, commanded by Marshal Tito,

marching shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army and the other antifascist armies at the time of the final rout of European fascism in May 1945.

During the first phase of socialist development we followed the example of Soviet experience and Soviet solutions, but at the same time utilized primarily the original and specific features which were born out of our people's liberation struggle in 1941-1945, and this subsequently led to the 1948 clash with the Informburo, to Stalin's condemnations and pressure. But the period of bad Soviet-Yugoslav relations did not last long and, with the 1955 Belgrade declaration and the 1956 Moscow statement and after a few hesitations, relations started steadily improving. Our meetings with M.S. Gorbachev in the last few years and the adoption of last year's Yugoslav-Soviet declaration introduced far-reaching overtones and reliable long-term foundations into these relations.

I think that there are no longer any major problems of a political nature in Yugoslav-Soviet relations, while any differences that might emerge are more proof of socialism's enrichment with new ideas than an expression of different views on questions of strategy. Nevertheless, some problems do develop in economic ties and inevitably leave their mark on political relations, and in this regard it is that much more necessary to have the utmost mutual respect for another country's specific interests.

[Correspondents] Just as every revolution, the Yugoslav socialist revolution had its own specific features. The same logically applies as regards your country's socialist development to this day. Could you briefly mention these past and present specific features and the results scored along the path traveled by Yugoslavia?

[Suvar] Despite all the hardships and trials which socialism is now encountering in our country, the revolution in Yugoslavia has produced a major and positive historical result. It has been and remains a socialist, democratic, and mass revolution in terms of its nature and rhe forces which accomplished and are still accomplishing it. This revolution's original features and achievements became apparent, for example, back at the time of the people's liberation struggle and were revealed in its duality—it was a liberation struggle and a social coup d'etat.

Following the armed victory of the socialist revolution, our war-torn and devastated country introduced state ownership of the means of production and persistently implemented collectivization of the numerous poor peasantry, following the example of the Soviet kolkhoz system. There was an unjustifiably accelerated industrialization and ensuing rapid urbanization. Despite the fact that fast growth of industrial output was achieved and industry's key sectors were boosted, problems soon emerged of disequilibrium in the economic structure, imbalances, economic inefficiency, and irrationality in the sphere of capital investments and distribution of accumulations. Interest in work diminished, and there was a decline in agricultural output.

We soon abandoned collectivization in agriculture on the strength of the idea of using economic means to establish links between the private and public sectors in agriculture (which, by the way, was Bukharin's viewpoint in the twenties). An answer to the problems which our newly established socialist country encountered, in addition to the conflict with the Informburo and Stalin, was found in the idea and practice of developing workers socialist self-management. That was the path we took way back in the early fifties and, despite the fact that we have both deviated and retreated from it, we are sticking to it!

The foundation of the idea and practice of workers self-management lies in criticism of the alienated and bureaucratized might of the state in relations with the working class.

Our revolution, proceeding from Lenin's forecast that every country would have its own path to socialism, affirmed the need for and the right to autonomous and independent revolutionary transformation within the framework of the monumental trends of the establishment and development of socialism, offering proof of internationalism in deeds rather than in an external and mechanical fashion by obedience to a world center of revolutionary struggle. This right to have one's own path is now emphasized also in the Soviet Union, but in the past it was sharply condemned and punished under Stalin's diktat.

Our experience has convincingly proved (despite all its ups and downs) that the working class, using nothing but political means, cannot do away with either class divisions or commodity production, just as it cannot wave a magic wand to overcome social contradictions. Yugoslav socialism is encountering more acutely today than yesterday the problems of overcoming its etatist and bureaucratic constraints, of overcoming bureaucratization through democratization, and of encouraging the market production which was described by Yugoslav theoreticians even as far back as 1950 as the indispensable basis of socialist self-management.

Since socialism is living through difficulties and trials and is meeting the challenge of the times in other countries too, it is that much more incumbent on the forces of our revolution to overcome the present state of stagnation along our path of socialist development and to sweep away the increased deformations in society and the hesitations as regards the further development of socialist self-management. First and foremost we must achieve a much broader and much deeper and genuine democratization of society, a democratization which would ensure new and even greater achievements by socialism along the economic and spiritual avenues.

[Correspondents] What you have just said prompts us to ask the following question: Could you please describe the current situation in the country? [PRAVDA Second Edition adds: "Last year, as you recently said in an interview with Yugoslav newspapers, was the most difficult for Yugoslavia in the postwar period. What happened in 1988 and during the first few months of this year?"]

[Suvar] In brief: Last year and this year, political and social life reached a culmination in a crisis in our progress along the socialist path, despite considerable achievements in spheres such as the expansion of direct socialist democracy, the development of socialist commodity production, national equality, material prosperity, and human spiritual and creative freedoms.... [PRAVDA Second Edition adds: "In other words, these actual achievements were no longer adequate and should have been much greater to ensure that whatever had already been achieved was neither jeopardized nor nullified."]

Until quite recently socialist theories and ideologies everywhere, including here in Yugoslavia, denied the likelihood of social and economic crises in the very nature of the socialist system. Bearing in mind that socialism can confirm its historical advantage over capitalism and preceding methods of production only through the economic liberation of labor, the development of science as a productive force, and the abolition of social exploitation, it is natural that it should meet the challenge of crises by positively overcoming internal contradictions, enhancing the creative role of the working class and every worker, raising labor productivity, and accelerating scientific and technical progress.

The causes of the economic crisis in Yugoslavia are rooted in the extensive method of economic management, the orientation toward rigidly implemented industrialization, and a lack of respect for the laws governing commodity production, which resulted in low economic efficiency, imbalances in development, high price rises, inflation and unemployment, and inordinately high external debt. This is what has led to the exacerbation of social relations in society.

The last few years, and the last year in particular, proved that the secret of all secrets in our country's economic and political life is the still meager surplus value and its poor utilization, and it is no longer possible to cover this up either by making extensive capital investments, by borrowing money abroad, by spending money that has not been earned and pumping it from profitable into nonprofitable economic enterprises, or by having the state print more money.

Diverse class and social interests have surfaced in all their acuteness, and various movements have emerged with different concepts about overcoming the present grave situation in society, beginning with those which keep to the base and concepts of socialism and ending with those which deny the legitimacy and prospects of working class power and the attainability of socialism's ideals. Despite this, and as 1988 graphically proved, socialist demands nevertheless overwhelmingly gain the upper hand.

Last year was a difficult one for all Yugoslav citizens, and it may have been the hardest in a series of unsuccessful years. It was, however, the year in which we all evidently realized our current state and perceived the ways out of it. [PRAVDA Second Edition omits the preceding two sentences] Together with the program of reforms—economic and political reform and reform of the party itself—which the LCY Conference advocated in May 1988 and which was even more energetically emphasized by the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum in October 1988, there have emerged elements for our society's reintegration on what I would call more stable and more objective economic foundations. In market economy conditions, the political factor and the LCY can no longer rest satisfied with the role of a voluntarist arbiter relying on the state's might; the LCY no longer has the right to act a state party but must prepare to take on the role of an "internal" force—the driving force and inspirer of the working class and the working people in all institutions and forms of socialist democracy.

[Correspondents] Some years ago one of us, as a member of a USSR Journalists Union delegation, met you in Zagreb. At that time you made a wide-ranging review of the ideological situation in the country. What positive changes have occurred in Yugoslav society's spiritual life during the latest period?

[Suvar] A significant breakthrough has occurred in the minds of the majority of people and in mass social awareness in Yugoslavia. The optimistic and apologetic perception of heroic and monolithic socialism has disappeared (it is almost nonexistent now). The prestige of Tito, the major historical leader of the revolution, has receded into the world of memories and nostalgia among the older generation. [PRAVDA Second Edition omits the preceding sentence and renders the following sentence as: "A state of dismay and mass depression built up in conditions of economic stagnation, high inflation, and declining living standards."] Young people are growing up in conditions of decades of economic stagnation, high inflation, and declining living standards, and they are encountering growing difficulties in finding jobs and solving the most important problems of life.

The state of dismay and mass depression was accompanied not only by obsolete rhetoric but also by a swelling criticism which displays many uncultured and atavistic aspects, as well as by a multiplication of all manner of conflicts. The democratization of political life is accompanied by anarchic and anachronistic manifestations of retrograde perceptions of social, national, cultural, and religious "structures," including rallies and strikes.

I nevertheless think that, despite everything, democratization has a greater chance in Yugoslavia than ever before, while there is a far less danger that socialism might regress. We are drawing further and further away from the barrack-room and distributive rules of beggarly socialism and are moving in the direction of a socialism under which man will come to the forefront with his needs, his freedoms and rights to opinions and organization, and his personality—not the personality of an egotistic and selfish being but of a responsible subject.

Many dogmas and confusions—both "our own" Yugoslav ones and those "universally held"—about socialism, its true nature, and its driving forces have vanished into thin air. This causes great confusion in people's minds and in the daily pulse of social life. It is also fraught with the danger that new dogmas might appear, such as faith that the market is capable of resolving everything. There is something else that is clear: Social stability can no longer be achieved through orders and all-embracing bureaucratic control; it can be achieved only through powerful development of socialist democracy, the actions of a rule-of-law state, strict observance of laws, the eradication of privileges regardless of who might be enjoying them, free criticism accompanied by responsibility by every individual and every collective, and people's interest in working as well and as much as possible so that life can be the best and happiest possible....

[Correspondents] Your work "Socialism and Nations" was published last spring. What could you say about the nationalities question in the SFRY?

[Suvar] Despite Lenin's thorough analyses and warnings, socialist countries held that the nationalities question had been "solved" once national self-determination and equality had been proclaimed.

Yugoslavia—and I do not think it would be immodest to mention this—recognized more than any other socialist country the prolonged topicality of the nationalities question, and the League of Communists was not color-blind in this regard. But this does not mean that we thus protected ourselves from the negative legacy of history and the negative consequences of objective social contradictions in mutual relations between peoples and ethnic groups (national minorities) in our country.

How could I summarize in a brief answer all that I wrote in the two hefty volumes of the book "Socialism and Nations" (in which I also included a separate scientific work on the nationalities question in the Soviet Union, written way back in 1971)?

Even today, under socialism—be it Yugoslav, be it Soviet, or be it any other—it is as easy to be a nationalist as it is to be a careerist and a demagogue; the difficult thing is to be a genuine communist. Let us recall Lenin again: Scratch a little bit beneath the skin!... [PRAVDA Second Edition omits preceding paragraph]

Yugoslavia, being a federative socialist community, is inhabited by six peoples: The Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene peoples were recognized even during the bourgeois period, while the Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Muslim peoples won the right to self-determination only through the socialist revolution. The country is also inhabited by 10 ethnic groups (national minorities), 2 of which comprise over 100,000 inhabitants—the Albanian (around 2 million) and the Hungarian (around 450,000). The national heterogeneity—and not just the heterogeneity—is reflected in the six socialist republics and in the two socialist autonomous provinces within the Serbian Socialist Republic.

The nationalities question has become exacerbated, while nationalism has intensified because there has been a steadily growing bureaucratic isolation of republics and provinces in relations with each other and with the federation. This developed on the basis of technocratic-bureaucratic decisionmaking on surplus value within "national" borders, without really having a single Yugoslav market (since, in our own experience, central state planning cannot be a substitute for it) to ensure economic integration and mobility of all factors of production regardless of republican and provincial borders.

[Correspondents] Could you tell us what is happening now in Kosovo?

[Suvar] A nationalist movement has existed in Kosovo for a long time. It sets itself the goal of transforming this autonomous socialist province, which is part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, into a separate Albanian republic within Yugoslavia to be followed by adhesion to Albania. It was in this context that Albanian nationalism strove also during World War II, under fascist Italy's patronage, to create a so-called Greater Albania, while back in 1945 the Balists (Albanian nationalists) organized an uprising and Marshal Tito introduced martial law in Kosovo in the spring of that year. Albanian nationalists organized demonstrations in 1968 and in 1981. Now miners of Albanian nationality from the "Stari Trg" mine have organized a strike, staged a sit-in underground, made demands against amendments to Serbia's Constitution, and demanded the resignation of some leaders—which won them broader solidarity among the Albanian population and heightened the sense of alarm among Serbs, Montenegrins, and other inhabitants of Kosovo. This is why special measures were introduced to protect public installations, production units, and citizens' lives and property. But there have been no outbreaks of violence.

Of course, the Albanian ethnic group enjoys all national and other rights enjoyed by all peoples and ethnic groups in Yugoslavia.

We would need a separate interview to make a more detailed analysis of the situation prevailing in Kosovo, of its causes and consequences.

Peoples, just like individuals, must feel equal and free under socialism, with rights to promote all aspects of their originality.

[Correspondents] You mentioned the program of three reforms advocated by the LCY. But how successful a beginning has been made on implementing these reforms?

[Suvar] After prolonged hesitation and after a painful farewell to its own errors and dogmas, the LCY and all organized socialist forces essentially advocated far-reaching social reform, which we, from the technical viewpoint, subdivided into three reforms. We know that the changes can no longer be delayed.

In short, it is a matter not only of a basic overhaul, but also of a plan for the renewal of socialism in Yugoslavia in the main area of socialist self-management. It will have importance not only for all the peoples and ethnic groups, for the working class and labor collectives, but for every person who makes a contribution to renewal in terms of his ability and responsibility.

When we are talking about economic development, and therefore of the well-thought-out ideological and theoretical elaboration and implementation of economic reform, I would say that in this matter too we must arrive at new conclusions and no longer talk about socialist commodity production or commodity production under socialism, but talk about socialism in conditions of commodity production. This approach sees neither socialism nor commodity production as fixed and eternal categories, but regards them as means of and prerequisites for human liberation.

Nevertheless we needed time and personal experience to understand certain things. [PRAVDA Second Edition provides variant preceding paragraph: "All-embracing economic reform is a mandatory condition of socialism in our country."]

Economic reform must be the final step toward revealing the real meaning of socialist self-management, whereby it can actually acquire real economic substance in order not to be an empty political shell and a system for the transmission of power adapted to the antiquated structure of production forces and Taylorist [piece-rate system named after 19th century U.S. economist] labor organization.

[PRAVDA Second Edition adds: "In our view, the criterion of competitiveness is the most up-to-date structure of the economy, whereby socialization occurs as a result of changes in the technological, ownership, management, incentives, and market structures."]

In the modern concept of social ownership monitored by the market, if a worker is still a hired hand, it is only in relation to himself. This modern self-management, wherein the producers of material and spiritual goods make decisions by means of self-management concerning the conditions and fruits of their labor, is the main aim of economic reform. It has a new charcater as a result of the structural adaptation of the entire economy and the whole of social reproduction to the new conditions. The new enterprises which we have decided to establish in Yugoslavia will be organized and flexible as regards the introduction of new technology, knowledge, and market trends, and they will be adapted to developed commodity production, based not only on individual efficiency but also on cooperation, coordination, and integrated regulation.

The economic reform can be briefly defined as a switch from a distributive economy, in which the state, in the absence of the requisite profits, is increasingly "devaluing the coinage," taking on credits and encouraging inflation, thus becoming a medium of increasingly unjust distribution and increasing impoverishment, to a productive economy in which the state abandons the position of a central economic lever and assumes the function of a global economic coordinator, ensuring legal order and financial stability. State interference is something necessary and essential, but not in terms of monopolizing the system's economic functions.

Tangible incentives for producers of material and spiritual goods and the independence of economic entities and their responsibility for production and output, monitored by market sales, must eventually replace etatist planning, distribution, risk-taking, mediation, and socialization of losses (but the state, naturally, should not forfeit essential control and organizational functions).

Excessive fear of private ownership of small means of production, for instance, in agriculture, in associated industries, in a number of other sectors, and in the services sphere has also contributed to the fact that hitherto socialism has been a society of hardship rather than plenty. On the other hand, subsidies allocated for many types of personal and public consumption, surplus jobs, and noneconomic criteria of employment and job placement have accentuated the lack of incentives in labor, the leveling, and the parasitical behavior of individuals and entire strata of society.

This is the foundation both for the reform of the political system which began with the adoption of amendments to the SFRY Constitution last November and will continue in the next 2-3 years with the adoption of a new constitution—and for the transformation of the LCY so that it operates not as the party in power, but as the party of the working class in the ranks of that class and in society as a whole, playing the part of ideological and political leader, as a force that does not command but encourages and inspires.

[Correspondents] Most socialist countries are currently searching for new solutions, and reforms are being devised and implemented, beginning with restructuring

here and ending with the three reforms in your country. How do you view the development of socialism in the world, and what are its achievements and prospects?

[Suvar] In a more profound historical sense socialism is still in its infancy. It has existed for 70 years in the Soviet Union and in other countries only 50, 40, 30 years.... But it has passed the historical test insofar as at the beginning of the century it was only an idea, in fact, only a program, albeit validated in theoretical, Marxist terms as a progressive, revolutionary possibility; now, at the end of the century, it has become an accelerated worldwide-historic process which, as it develops and advances along various paths, is significantly predetermining mankind's reality and prospects.

As a result of material and technological backwardness, socialism—fearful, first in the Soviet Union and then in other countries, of capitalist "encirclement"—has hitherto kept to its national and regional-bloc borders and has been protected by a general state-ownership monopoly in the matter of regulating the conditions of production, exchange, and distribution, turning a blind eye to the law of value as an epoch-making law which it is impossible to avoid, until the historically still-remote association of free producers should knock at the door. It was this that gave rise to socialism's many restrictions, the many rigid rules in the economic, political, and cultural spheres, the many dogmas and errors, which it is still hard to get rid of despite the grim ordeals and obviously ever-growing impotence and unsuitability of etatist decisions and subjective decrees.

As you know, in the Russian October socialism was thought of in terms of world revolution. After the defeat of the revolution in Germany and in other regions of Europe, there appeared the theory of socialism in one country. It was then that evolution began in the direction of state socialism as a closed society, in which the state and party bureaucracy grew strong. This defensive concept, imposed both by outside pressure and capitalist hostility, and from within, under pressure from the old production forces, has essentially persisted to this day. This concept inevitably turns into fear of the outside world, fear of new ideas, fear of the restoration of capitalism, and so on. I believe this is also the main methodological basis for any analysis of the plan for the renewal of socialism.

"Closed" instead of "open" socialism in the economy leads to state and party control over ideas, culture, science, freedom to create and freedom of expression, travel abroad, and, often, travel at home. This has resulted in and is still resulting in many bans and even grossly repressive measures. An open ideological and political struggle for the creation and functioning of public opinion, which would be truly socialist, not bureaucratically dictated and subject to manipulation nor created according to the laws of the "consciousness industry" and the sham democracy of bourgeois society, is an essential prerequisite of the strengthening and establishment of socialism everywhere, in every country, and worldwide.

The forces of socialism must now face up to all this if they want to eradicate the phenomena of conservatism, stagnation, and even regression on socialist territory.

It is a heartening and now evident fact that socialism has begun to learn from its own mistakes. This is the purpose of the reforms being proclaimed and beginning to be implemented in certain socialist countries, including Soviet restructuring and our three Yugoslav reforms.

I am convinced that socialism now, for the first time in its history, is heralding a positive democratic strategy based not on the export of revolution and repression, but on the "export" of ideas, labor, peace initiatives, and technological projects. It is the beginning of the victory of the concept of socialism as a pluralist world process that is growing in various forms worldwide.

What does this mean and what does it presuppose? First, we must define socialism as the means and process of liberating people and the ideas of movement and order. Second, we must get rid of the concept of socialism as the point beyond which all development ceases and see it as development from less to ever more socialism with a number of crucial stages. Third, socialism must proclaim the concepts of freedom and a healthy and rich life, for there is no freedom without wealth and health and there is no wealth without the liberation of human beings, without social, political, and creative freedoms. Fourth, the theory of socialism is from the very start pluralistic and cannot be reduced to a single model. Fifth, socialism must acquire an entirely different concept of progress from the quantitative concept that is basically common to state socialism and state capitalism and must unite the progress of knowledge and freedom; there is no socialism without alternatives, without competing projects.

Furthermore, when we consider the future of socialism, we must know that world socialism is not confronting capitalism; they are not two geographically separate zones or two hemispheres. Capitalism and socialism are interconnected in our era. Capitalism itself, split into the growing forces of democracy and conservative and totalitarian trends, is for all that moving away from its former unceremonious principles and methods; many new elements have appeared in labor organization, in the organization of society, and in class relations as a result of the development of production forces, science, and technology. The world, consequently, is not returning to capitalism, but capitalism itself is giving rise to relations and decisions which, by the criteria of the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, are distinctly socialist.

[Correspondents] There is much talk in Yugoslavia about creating a concept of socialism fit for the 21st century, about socialism fit for man, and so forth. What, essentially, is meant by this?

[Suvar] Unquestionably, it is not just a matter of combining Kant's "ethical socialism" with Marx' historical materialism. We want socialism to become a concept that does not die with the attainment of a high level of industrial development on the threshold of the 21st century. We must not enter the coming century armed with dogmas which contain no immediate, viable human truth: We must enter it prepared to raise vital questions and expose problems which demand a solution.

For us, this is above all a question of democracy in conditions of new individuality and subjectiveness in light of the end of the age of mass societies in which the will to power prevailed. We cannot wait for these structural changes in the alignment of power to take place, in order to provide wise explanations with hindsight. The concept which provides the answer to the question of the continuation of the social revolution in the coming century, a century characterized by science and technology, will gain the political, social, and ethical support of mankind. [PRAVDA Second Edition adds: "The critical, Marxist, and left-wing thinking which developed outside the canons of official ideology offered qualitative analyses of state problems, decisionmaking, and control of power, the mass media, and communications in the emerging conditions of the postindustrial society."] The analysis of the ecological prospects of the world as a whole and of each individual country, analysis of the interrelation between science, technology, and freedom, and so forth—these are the spheres in which the socialist concept for the 21st century can take on a real shape if it synthesizes the new knowledge. It is our task to reveal and unite this knowledge and to release it in the direction of the renewal of socialism.

[Correspondents] How are the preparations for the 14th LCY Congress and the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia [CPY] going?

[Suvar] At its 20th plenum at the end of January, the Central Committee decided to hold the 14th LCY Congress before the end of this year, that is 6 months ahead of schedule. At its upcoming session, which will take place in March, the Central Committee will make the necessary decisions in connection with the congress and the main documents that the congress will adopt. The commission for the transformation of the LCY, which has been working for several months now, will submit a document to the Central Committee at that session, specifying what is to be changed in the role, organization, and method of work of the League of Communists. A party-wide discussion of the documents will then ensue. We will mark the 70th anniversary of the CPY-LCY with a ceremonial session of the LCY Central Committee, to be held 19 April, and exhibitions and symposiums throughout the year.

[Correspondents] How do you assess Yugoslavia's present position in the world?

[Suvar] Yugoslavia enjoys the reputation of a nonaligned socialist country, a country with open borders and definite and specific socialist aspirations and achievements. Our domestic difficulties and problems have, nonetheless, in certain respects resulted in a certain decline in our prestige in comparison with Tito's time. Our foreign policy remains consistent. The SFRY seeks progress and peace and tries to develop cooperation with all countries on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. We are also striving for a more favorable place and a more important role of our country in Europe in the present-day economic, technological, and integration processes under way on the whole of our continent. It is of decisive importance for us to join the world market and the modern scientific and technological development in the world on the most favorable terms, and therefore we are especially pleased about the improvement, albeit initial, in the global political situation, for which great credit is due to the Soviet Union.

The Nonaligned Movement's confidence in Yugoslavia and in its active and creative role were admirably demonstrated last fall when, without any doing of its own, it was elected chairman of the movement; in other words, when it was chosen as the country which will coordinate the organization's active steps during the next 3 years and host the meeting of the heads of state and government of some 100 nonaligned countries and liberation movements in September of this year. This role of Yugoslavia's has been recognized also outside the ranks of the nonaligned countries, by the USSR among others.

[Correspondents] What can you say about restructuring in the USSR and the new Soviet foreign policy initiatives?

[Suvar] Judging by appearances, the course toward restructuring is bold and far-reaching and is of great significance for the further development of socialism not just in the Soviet Union, but in the world as a whole. So the Yugoslav Communists and the broadest circles of the Yugoslav public view this course with great sympathy.

If I follow correctly what the policy of restructuring has achieved in domestic terms, I would say that it is a question of making considerable progress in the socialist democratization of Soviet society; highlighting past distortions and errors with a focus on the future; ensuring dynamic economic, technological, and cultural development; establishing a new climate in social and cultural life; and stepping up the struggle against bureaucracy.

In the foreign policy sphere the new Soviet foreign policy peace intiatives, which have contributed to a relaxation of international tension and the Soviet Union's increased prestige in the world, are of great positive significance and influence.

People tend to forget. It is enough to remember what sort of atmosphere prevailed in the world just 3 years ago, or even more recently. The possibility of a catastrophe affecting the whole of civilization and apocalyptical pictures coming to mind at the thought of "the day after"—this was a reality on our planet.

Today the world is breathing more freely, and many people in Asia, Africa, and South America have already forgotten the ugly reality of constant wars. The peace initiatives, which also occupy a strategic place in the new thinking and restructuring, have not only reaffirmed the old truth about the relationship between socialism and war [as published], but have most directly demonstrated its ability to make a new contribution to the progress of civilization. [PRAVDA Second Edition adds: "People in the world cannot be fooled: They can sense what steps have been taken toward the idea of a lasting peace—an idea which cannot be the property and right of large nations and powerful systems alone but must be a reality for every inhabitant of the globe."]

In this context we in Yugoslavia too are most interested in viewing Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals as our common home, in which freedom, democracy, and self-determination will form the roof and economic integration and ecological, technological and peace projects will form the foundations of this edifice.

It is obvious, however, that changing social relations, relations within the economy, and even habits and the old style of conduct is the most difficult task of all. We in Yugoslavia are aware of this, so I am sure that the policy of Soviet restructuring has come up against it too.

[Correspondents] What is your opinion of the cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU, and where do you see potential for the strengthening and enrichment of this cooperation?

[Suvar] Our cooperation is good, continuous, and full of respect and mutual understanding. However, this does not mean that it could not be better or more meaningful still. In the sphere of interparty cooperation we should not stop at simple, routine briefings of each other, visits, and lectures with possible thoughts of influencing each other in the propaganda sphere. It is necessary to have more joint research projects and open debates on the problems of the development of socialism and of the present-day world.

[Correspondents] In conclusion, could you say a few words about yourself. Where do you come from, and when did you enter politics?

[Suvar] I was born in Dalmatia, at the foot of the Biokovo Mountains, close to the Adriatic. My father was a member of the CPY from 1919, worked as a miner in Serbia, was a partisan leader, and became a member of a people's committee after the liberation.

I worked my way through high school and university.

I worked as a research sociologist, as a lecturer, as director of a scientific institute, and, finally, became a professor at Zagreb University. I am not a professional politician. At the 13th LCY Congress in 1986 I was elected a member of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium for the first time. Now I hold the post of chairman of the Presidium.

CSSR Chief of Staff Visits Moscow, Leningrad

PM0603115989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Tour Around the Country"]

[Text] Colonel General M. Vacek, chief of the Czechoslovak People's Army General Staff who is on an official, friendly visit to the USSR, left for a trip around the country on 3 March.

The guest was seen off at Sheremetyevo Airport by Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, and other officials of the USSR Defense Ministry.

The state flags of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union were raised at the airport and an honor guard mounted on the tarmac.

Colonel General Vacek arrived in Leningrad the same day.

The Czechoslovalk guest paid a call on Colonel General V. Yermakov, commander of the Leningrad Military District, laid flowers on the monument dedicated to the heroic defenders of Leningrad on Victory Square, and visited the the Militay History Museum of Artillery, Engineering Troops, and Signals Troops.

Views Troop Cutbacks

PM0603115789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Colonel General M. Vacek, chief of the Czechoslovak People's Army General Staff, by Captain M. Zheglov in Moscow: "Much Work Lies Ahead"; date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Excerpt] During his visit to Moscow, the chief of the Czechoslovak People's Army General Staff had hardly any time to spare. Nonetheless, and despite the fact that

the visit was tightly scheduled virtually down to the last minute, he did find an opportunity to answer KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's questions.

[Zheglov] In your view, how does the Warsaw Pact states' decision to reduce armed forces and armaments fit in with the CSSR's peaceable foreign policy initiatives, especially the "Jakes plan?"

[Vacek] I consider that plan a direct part of the unilateral steps in the sphere of armed forces and arms reductions by the Warsaw Pact states. At this point I would like to recall that, speaking at last year's CPCZ Central Committee February Plenum, M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, put forward the initiative of establishing zones of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborliness along the line of contact between the two alliances—the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This initiative envisages the solution of security problems and the achievement of progress in the political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian spheres as a whole. By announcing reductions in their armed forces, the socialist states have taken a specific step toward Europe's demilitarization, which would certainly help to strengthen confidence in this region. This is the main component of the "Jakes plan."

[Zheglov] All the Soviet divisions still remaining on the territory of our allies, including those in the CSSR, will be reorganized and will assume a clearly expressed defensive structure. Will similar steps be undertaken in the Czechoslovak People's Army?

[Vacek] They will. In the immediate future, at that. An appropriate decision has already been made by the CSSR Defense Council. At this point I would like to emphasize the following: The reduction in our military budget by 15 percent and the withdrawal of 12,000 servicemen from the composition of combat units and subunits will in no way affect the level of our combat readiness. Much work lies ahead, since our units and subunits will also have to take on the tasks formerly performed by the Soviet division, due to be withdrawn from the CSSR. [passage omitted]

CPCZ Official on CPSU Ideological Ties

PM0203153989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent P. Tsvetov report: "Ideologists Cooperating"]

[Text] A program for ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ was signed in Prague in November 1988. J. Jenik, chief of the CPCZ Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, told this PRAVDA correspondent about the first steps in implementing this important document.

"The program was published in the journal ZIVOT STRANY (PARTY LIFE) and met with great interest by Czechoslovak Communists. The document covers a wide range of issues; this is why the CPCZ Central Committee is involving a whole range of social organizations such as the Socialist Youth Union, the trade unions, creative unions, and sports societies in its fulfillment.

"The CPCZ is currently devoting paramount attention to the issues discussed at our party's 17th congress. New statutes and basic provisions for a party program are being prepared. The CPSU's experience and your latest theoretical developments are important for us in this area. Mutual consultations were recently held between the two parties' institutes of Marxism-Leninism.

"The CPSU's experience in democratizing all aspects of life is also of interest. This is linked above all with the report and election campaign in the CPCZ which begins this September. We are also studying how party leadership of the mass media in the USSR is being implemented at the current stage. We are planning to consult with our Soviet comrades on counterpropaganda questions in the very near future.

"The document signed by the two parties should work for the good of our peoples," my interlocutor said in conclusion.

Honecker Meets CPCZ's Lenart in Berlin

PM0603110189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "United Stance"]

[Text] Berlin, 2 Mar—The SED and the CPCZ will continue to struggle resolutely for the consolidation of peace, to help implement the coordinated strategy of the Warsaw Pact states, and to conduct a flexible policy of dialogue. This was stated during a meeting here today between E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and J. Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, who is visiting the GDR.

The GDR and the CSSR, they noted, intend to actively support the fraternal countries' joint initiatives on consolidating the stability of the international situation and to augment them with their own proposals. The two countries' recent adoption of measures on the unilateral reduction of their Armed Forces may be seen as an example of the seriousness of those intentions.

Honecker, Hamburg Mayor Discuss Disarmament
PM2702132189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Disarmament Is the Aim"]

[Text] Berlin, 24 Feb—There is nothing more important at the moment than to maintain peace and disarmament. In the nuclear age this is the main task of any policy, E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, stressed during a meeting here today with H. Voscherau, first burgomaster of Hamburg.

The GDR leader noted that the two German states bear a lofty responsibility for the maintenance of peace. They should contribute to reducing strategic offensive arms, bringing about a general ban on chemical weapons and substantially reducing conventional arms.

Soviet, GDR Aides Discuss Economic Issues
PM0603114389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Consultations with the GDR Foreign Ministry on international economic questions were held at the USSR Foreign Ministry 1-2 March. They were conducted on the Soviet side by E.Ye. Obminskiy, chief of the International Economic Relations Administration, and on the GDR side by W. Schlegel, director of the International Economic Organizations Department.

W. Schlegel was received by V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister. G. Koenig, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, took part in their talk.

GDR Deputy Defense Minister Receives Award
PM2402145789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Award of the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples to Colonel General Horst Bruenner, Deputy Minister of National Defense and Chief of the Political Main Administration of the GDR National People's Army"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] For services to the strengthening of combat collaboration between the USSR Armed Forces and the GDR National People's Army, Colonel General Horst Bruenner, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Political Main Administration of the GDR National People's Army, is awarded the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The Kremlin, Moscow, 21 February 1989

'Shameful' Riots Aim To Undermine Polish Talks
PM0603135189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 p 3

[Report by TASS correspondent A. Pershin especially for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: "Krakow: Troubled Times"]

[Text] Warsaw—At first it would seem that a picture from some cheap, anti-Soviet hit movie had appeared on the television screen. Young men and women in khaki-colored uniforms, greatcoats, and paper "budyenovki" [Red Army helmet] were waving red flags and holding models of tanks and missiles with red stars on them. The crowd was shouting slogans: "Down with the commune!" "Communism—on the scrap heap of history!" "Russians—go home!" Insults and mockery addressed to the Soviet Army and the USSR were shouted through megaphones to the crowd.

This occurred in Krakow on 23 February. Students from the local Jagiellonian University, or more precisely, mostly supporters of the so-called "Independent Union of Students" (NZS), had gathered here for the demonstration. Then the crowd marched through the city streets toward the memorial to Soviet Army soldiers who gave their lives to save Krakow from annihilation by the fascists. Cans of paint and bottles of kefir flew from the crowd toward the granite base.

Jerzy Urban, the Polish government press spokesman, called these hooligan anti-Soviet outbursts "a manifestation of extreme political stupidity" and "sickening ingratitude."

But the 23 February events should not be examined in isolation from what occurred earlier and what happened afterward. The next day hundreds of students once against went out onto the city streets. They carried banners with the emblems of "Solidarity," the "Confederation of Independent Poland," and the NZS. This time the militia obstructed the crowd's path. Stones flew at the ranks of militiamen. The students broke benches, knocked down fences, and burnt cars. This was all done to the hysterical accompaniment of demands to legalize the NZS, review the law on higher education, and reform military training. The events in Krakow developed at the same time the "roundtable," involving representatives of the government coalition, the trade unions, and the constructive opposition was in session over 350 km from this city, in Warsaw. The question of legalizing the NZS is being examined there. But who organized and pushed the students to these shameful outbursts?

Polish National Education Minister Jacek Fisiak believes the events in Krakow are directed against the process of national concord and against the "roundtable" talks. Teachers and students at many higher educational establishments, the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, and the broad public voiced their indignation at the events in Krakow. But what about the leaders of the Krakow NZS who organized the street riots? They do not feel guilty. Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban proposed that all the sides participating in the "roundtable" talks condemn the hooligan outbursts in Krakow. But neither "Solidarity," nor other "roundtable" participants on the opposition side, nor the NZS itself issued such a condemnation.

Jaruzelski Remarks to Veterans Noted

PM0603093189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Addressing PZPR Veterans"]

[Text] Warsaw, 3 Mar—At the PZPR Central Committee on Thursday, a group of meritorious figures of the workers movement were presented with the Ludwik Warynski Medal in connection with the 100th anniversary of the outstanding Polish revolutionary's death.

Speaking at the ceremony, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, stressed the party veterans' great services to socialist Poland.

We are all concerned now with the difficulties of the present and thoughts about the future, he noted. It is particularly necessary to understand the concern of those who have devoted many years of their lives to the common cause and who are disturbed about the fate of the country and party. W. Jaruzelski assured the veterans that the country's leadership realizes its full responsibility for the cause of Poland and for building socialism. Deep transformations are taking place not only in Poland: This is a process which embraces the majority of the socialist countries.

Soviet, Polish Academics Confer on Reforms

PM2702152989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Generalizing Experience"]

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Feb—In order to successfully advance along the road of renewing socialism and restructuring all aspects of life, it is necessary to take account of the experience of resolving the complex and multifaceted problems of development acquired in the fraternal countries. This was the conclusion reached by the participants in the Soviet-Polish conference "Contradictions in Transformation Processes in the USSR and Poland" that has just ended in Warsaw. It was organized by the M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University and Warsaw University.

Soviet, Polish Historians Approve Document

PM0603090789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Session Held"]

[Text] A session of the working group of the Soviet and Polish scholars joint commission on the history of relations between the two countries was held in Moscow 28 February-2 March. A draft joint document "The Eve and Beginning of World War II" was discussed and approved and will be submitted for the commission's examination.

Historians Recall 'Reunification' in W. Ukraine

PM0603094189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Correspondent V. Drozd report: "Chronicle of Struggle"]

[Text] Lvov, 3 Mar—A joint Soviet-Polish scientific conference dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the formation of the Communist Party of the West Ukraine—a combat detachment of the international communist movement—has begun work here.

The reports and speeches delivered by scientists from Moscow, Kiev, Lvov, Minsk, and Poland formed a stirring chronicle of the courage shown by communists from Poland, the West Ukraine, and western Belorussia in the struggle for the working peoples' social and national liberation and showed the attention given them by V.I. Lenin. The conference formulated the main guidelines of research designed to highlight as fully and objectively as possible the multifaceted activity of the communists who prepared the reunification of the Ukrainian and Belorussian lands, the 50th anniversary of which will be marked in September this year.

CPSU Aides Study MSZMP Agrarian Policy

PM0603154389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] A group of CPSU workers headed by G.G. Seregin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department, visited Hungary 28 February-4 March. The Soviet party workers familiarized themselves with progress in realizing the MSZMP's agrarian policy and conducted an exchange of opinions on ways to improve cooperation in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex.

West Europe

FRG Economics Minister Holds Moscow Talks

* Haussmann Visit Previewed

WA18250105 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 2 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by Ye. Gulkin: "Welcome to Moscow"]

[Text] This will be his first visit to the USSR with the rank of FRG minister of economics. From 2 through 4 March Helmut Haussmann will be in Moscow conducting negotiations on the condition and prospects for the development of Soviet-West German trade and economic cooperation. The new minister of economics, who took over this post at the end of last year, is one of the youngest members of the Bonn cabinet. He was born on 8 May 1943 in Tuebingen and is an economist by education. He supports a policy of development of cooperation with the USSR.

Haussmann is more than just a brilliant theoretician and practitioner in his field. He has a large amount of experience in party work—from chairman of the rayon organization of the FDP [Free Democratic Party] in Reutlingen he advanced to election in 1984 to the post of party general secretary. He has become accustomed to approaching the consideration of any problem comprehensively and analyzing it from all sides. A clear example was the story of the rapid neutron reactor in Kalkara. When the question of the construction of this atomic energy facility was considered, business circles and experts used its economic advantageousness as an argument in its favor. But is was Haussmann the economist, one of the few in the FDP, who criticized the plan, warning about problems of the safety of the reactor and the inevitable outburst of dissatisfaction from the population. Several years passed and billions of marks were invested in the dead body of the reactor—and time proved Haussmann to be right. Mistakes were revealed in the system for insuring safety and throughout the country there are protest demonstrations against it organized by citizens with ecological initiatives. Work was halted on the facility.

H. Haussmann's trip to the USSR is not simply an official visit for the sake of protocol. There is simply no time for this—the calendar of measures in the area of bilateral cooperation is very full. At the beginning of April in Bonn a meeting of the joint Soviet-West German commission on problems of economic and scientific-technical cooperation will open and the West German side is already preparing actively for the forthcoming visit of M. S. Gorbachev to the FRG, developing and coordinating with the Soviet partners concrete points and programs, and checking and augmenting the texts of drafts of contracts and agreements that are to be signed. In Moscow the minister intends to discuss questions of the activity of joint enterprises and the course of the preparation of agreement on the guarantee of capital investments of West German partners for "joint ventures" and prospects for cooperation in the area of training managers. Another very important goal of H. Haussmann's visit to the USSR—and this is concealed neither by himself nor by members of the FRG Ministry of Economics—is to become personally acquainted with the partners, to learn on the spot about the transformations that are being carried out in the USSR, and to experience their rhythm.

What does the West German side regard as positive in the development of cooperation over the past year? In the opinion of experts, it has been a special year in the relations between the two countries both in terms of the number of agreements concluded and the exceptionally favorable overall atmosphere. The partners have come to understand one another better, they pay more attention to the criticism and wishes of the other side, mutual trust has become stronger, and the procedures for concluding agreements have been made easier. There has been a tendency toward increased commodity turnover between the USSR and FRG after several years of stagnation. The problem of the lack of balance of Soviet exports, in which energy bearers predominate, is still very crucial, but the efforts of the USSR to expand production of ready-made goods for the domestic market and for export give reason to hope for appreciable changes within 2-3 years. But so far in terms of indicators of trade with the FRG our country lags behind tiny Switzerland with its population of 6.5 million.

What is bothering our Soviet partners? Hitches in the realization by the Soviet Union of credit received in Western Europe under credit plans for modernization of Soviet industry, mainly light and the food industry. Representatives of industrial circles expected large orders even by the end of last year, but their numbers and volumes clearly do not correspond to preliminary calculations. The cannot hurry us and do not consider it necessary. They think that it is better to wait a couple more months until the Soviet side makes a final decision to the effect that it is more expedient to acquire and build primarily taking into account all the requirements of their economy and the peculiarities of the economic conditions in the world market. This approach satisfies the business circles of the FRG who are arranging cooperation with us on a long-term basis.

On the whole the process of the development of cooperation and the course of the transformations in the Soviet economy are given a positive rating. From the very beginning West German experts have pointed out that one should not count on rapid, spasmodic growth of production of goods, improvement of their quality, and expansion of their assortment in the process of restructuring of industry.

H. Haussmann's visit to Moscow has been planned literally down to the minute. There is much to do. As I was told in the Ministry of Economics, it is also intended

to organize a small cultural program for the minister—a visit to the Bolshoy Theater. Whether or not he manages to get this in will indicate the course of the negotiations. Business comes first.

Haussmann Arrives 2 March

LD0203135689 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS—West German Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann arrived here on Thursday at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

During his stay in Moscow he will meet Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov and his deputies Yuriy Maslyukov, Ivan Silayev and Vladimir Kamentsev.

The talks will cover issues connected with Soviet leader Milhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to the Federal Republic of Germany and with another session of the Soviet-West German intergovernmental commission on cooperation in economic, scientific and technological fields.

West Germany is among the Soviet Union's leading business partners. Its standing as long major trading partner of this country among industrialised Western nations was confirmed again last year, with trade between the two states growing by more than ten per cent, according to preliminary data.

The Soviet Union and West Germany have been successfully developing new forms of economic interaction. Soviet organisations and enterprises have signed some 40 agreements with West German firms on the cooperative manufacture of machines and equipment.

Over 40 joint ventures have been launched in both the USSR and the FRG. Dozens of other similar businesses are being mooted.

The association for business cooperation with West Germany, formed about a year ago at the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry, is going, it is believed in Soviet business quarters, to have a dramatically increased workload on its hands when the number of Soviet enterprises with the right to deal directly with external markets goes up on April 1.

Views Bilateral Commission's Work

LD0403033389 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Helmut Haussmann, FRG minister of economics—co-chairmen of the USSR and FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation, had a meeting in Moscow on Friday.

The main subjects of their conversations were prospects for the development of economic relations between the USSR and the FRG in the light of the forthcoming visit to the FRG by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The course of the implementation of agreements on cooperation in various areas of the economy reached during the Soviet-West German summit in Moscow in October 1988 was also appraised.

The sides outlined concrete joint measures to deepen economic cooperation between the two countries with taking into account restructuring of the system of management of external economic ties, which is implemented in the USSR and which opens essentially new opportunity for the widening of the economic interaction of Soviet organisations and enterprises with West German firms.

Questions of upgrading forms of bilateral cooperation, the activity of the USSR and FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation and its working bodies, as well as questions connected with the holding of a regular session of the commission in April 1989 in the FRG were discussed.

Meets With Ryzhkov

LD0403141389 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on Saturday received Helmut Haussmann, West German minister of economics and co-chairman of the Soviet-West German Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation.

Evaluating the general state of relations between the USSR and West Germany, Ryzhkov noted that their weight and significance pre-determine the great responsibility of both nations in searching for realistic and constructive decisions in the interests of both bilateral cooperation and improving the international situation. One can only applaud that exactly this approach is being manifested more and more clearly, Ryzkhov noted.

A substantive exchange of views was held on several pressing issues of Soviet-West German relations in light of Mikhail Gorbachev's upcoming visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. Mutual confidence was expressed that the visit will make it possible to raise the level of interaction between the USSR and West Germany in a variety of areas and will contribute to a further positive development of the CSCE process.

A lot of attention was paid to the work being carried out by both countries in implementing the agreements and understandings reached during the Soviet-West German

summit meeting in October 1988. More persistence and enterprise should be displayed, including the quest for more rational forms of cooperation.

Both noted the important role of the Soviet-West German Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation in searching for real and specific ways to expand economic links between the two countries. In conditions when sweeping economic reform is being effected in the USSR and its foreign economic activity reshaped, both agree that it is imperative to further upgrade the work of the commission.

Konstantin Katushev, Soviet minister of foreign economic relations, Aleksandr Bondarenko, member of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Collegium, and also Andreas Meyer-Landruth, West German ambassador to the USSR, took part in the discussion.

Notes 'Spirit of Cooperation'

LD0403095489 Hamburg DPA in German 0807 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—On the last day of his visit to Moscow, Federal Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann met Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov. Yesterday Haussmann had preparatory talks on the next routine session of the German-Soviet Economic Commission, which is to take place in Bonn in April. An investment protection agreement also is to be initialled at that time.

The two sides underlined on Friday that their economic relations were capable of being expanded. Haussmann stressed that "a good spirit of cooperation" was more important than "the number of concluded protocols."

The federal economics minister also inspected on Friday a piece of property in the Moscow city center on which the planned center of German industry is to be built. The idea of building it was proposed by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl during his visit to Moscow last October.

Talks With Maslyukov, Others

LD0403144189 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS—Yuriy Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, received Helmut Haussmann, the economics minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, on Saturday.

At the minister's request, Maslyukov acquainted him with the main directions and peculiarities of radical transformation in the Soviet economy and with practice of introducing the principles of cost-accounting to the activities of enterprises and production amalgamations, including cooperative ones.

Matters concerning the state of and prospects for further development of Soviet-West German cooperation were discussed.

Taking part in the meeting were Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Kostantin Katushev, USSR minister for foreign economic relations.

Comments on Cooperation Prospects

LD0403195589 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 4 TASS—"The meetings and talks in Moscow led me to the conclusion that the two sides attach much importance to further development of trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany", Helmut Haussmann, FRG's federal minister of economics, told a TASS correspondent at the close of his official visit to the Soviet Union.

"The Government of the FRG intends to be a good and straightforward partner of the Soviet Union at a time when it is busy effecting economic reforms," the minister added.

There are ample opportunities for deeper cooperation, Haussmann pointed out. An inter-governmental agreement on mutual protection of capital investments, which is planned to be signed, will lead, in his view, to the growth of the number of firms, particularly small and medium-sized ones, striving for cooperation with Soviet enterprises.

West German firms' participation in the modernisation of the light and food industries of the USSR may become more active, the minister believes. Business people from the Federal Republic are prepared to share experience in training managerial personnel, which will be not without benefit to the Soviet enterprises which have been granted the right to operate on the external market.

Notes 'Cautious Optimism' on Ties

LD0403131189 Hamburg DPA in German 1134 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, (DPA)—At the end of his talks in Moscow, Federal Economic Minister Helmut Haussmann expressed cautious optimism about the development of German-Soviet economic relations. Speaking to journalists in Moscow on Saturday, he spoke of an increasing improvement, although bilateral relations are not yet at a level which "reflect the actual importance of the two countries."

Haussmann met Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov this morning. The talks served to prepare the visit by state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev to the Federal Republic in June.

Haussmann described as one of the most important subjects of his talks in Moscow the project to build a center of German industry in Moscow city-center. The minister inspected the site for this near the Belorussian station yesterday. In return a center of Soviet industry is to be established in the Federal Republic. Preliminary talks on this are to be held in the FRG in March. Stuttgart and Duesseldorf are two possible locations.

A further topic of discussion was the investment protection and promotion agreement. Haussmann said that the contentious issues of an arbitration court, of transfer, and of nondiscrimination and protection against expropriation have been resolved. The agreement will be ready for signing in time for the visit by Soviet state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev to the FRG in June.

Negotiations on the planned agreement on the training and further qualification of management have also made good progress, said Haussmann. He thinks this agreement can be initialed at the next session of the joint German-Soviet Economic Commission in Bonn in April and then signed during Gorbachev's visit in June.

The federal economic minister pointed out to the Soviet side that possibilities in automobile manufacturing have not yet been exhausted and urged cooperation in this sphere. Haussmann said that due to this interest the Soviet minister of the automotive industry will take part in the next session of the Economic Commission in April for the first time.

Haussmann, who has been in Moscow since Thursday, also met Soviet Deputy Prime Ministers Yuriy Maslyukov, (also chairman of the State Planning Committee), Vladimir Kamentsev, and Ivan Silayev for detailed discussions. Haussmann added that he had discussed with Silayev possibilities for giving aid to the earthquake victims in Armenia. A project for a workshop for the production of artificial limbs was also discussed.

UK TIMES 'Lampoon' Linked to Gorbachev Visit

PM0603091189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[A. Lyutyy "Rejoinder": "How Is This To Be Understood?"]

[Text] It is common knowledge that in London they sometimes like to condescendingly admonish the rest of the world on matters of freedom of speech, the press, and human rights. In so doing they invariably cite the example of Britain's democratic traditions—such as the country's Parliament, the legal system, and the press. In the process, of course, they mention THE TIMES, which is considered the flagship of the British press. They describe this newspaper, which has been in existence since 1785, as the most reputable, respectable, and objective.

Reputable, respectable, and objective?... In its 27 February issue the newspaper carried on page 12 a picture which it would be too flattering to describe as a lampoon. I have not come upon anything of this kind even in the shoddiest of publications. Against the background of a fascist flag bearing a swastika, the picture shows in Nazi uniform with that same swastika on his arm band... the founder of our state, V.I. Lenin.

You can't believe your eyes, but it's true. The author of the caricature, judging from the signature, is Peter Brookes. The picture "embellishes" an article by the commentator Bernard Levin.

Incidentally, there isn't a word about either Lenin or the USSR in the article. It contains reflections on the public debate in Britain surrounding the appointment of Lord Chalfont, a right-wing politician and journalist, to the post of deputy director of the Independent Broadcasting Authority. Levin defends Chalfont's views. One can only guess at the implication of the drawing. But why even bother? What we have here is a flagrant insult and libel of an outstanding international figure revered by people throughout the world, the founder of the Soviet state and the Soviet Communist Party. To go further, this is a defamation of our object of worship, our honor.

All this is, to put it mildly, a very unseemly form of relations between civilized states. Yet Britain considers itself virtually the most civilized state in the world.

Under British law, any newspaper may be sued for libel and defamation, even to the point of being heavily fined. But only a living person can be libeled. These British laws do not extend to the dead, apparently.

However, even THE TIMES knows that the lampoon carried by its editorial office is insulting and demeaning not only to the radiant image of Lenin but to all Soviet people working for peace.

...It is no secret that the prestige of THE TIMES declined after it fell into the hands of the Australian magnate Rupert Murdoch in 1981. After all, Murdoch's empire contains quite a few squalid publications. It was surely to satisfy the philistines and boost circulation that Britain's oldest newspaper decided to ignore the elementary norms of journalistic ethics, decency, and morality, and sink to the level of THE SUN and the NEWS OF THE WORLD, squalid newspapers which Murdoch has also acquired.

And here is another point: THE TIMES is still regarded as the mouthpiece of Britain's ruling circles, and in particular of the present Conservative government. In light of such "publications," how is one to understand London's assurances of its readiness to develop political dialogue with us and to strengthen trust and mutual

understanding? And how is one to take this lampoon on the very eve of the visit to Britain by the head of our state and party? Clearly, some people in the land of Albion do not favor this visit.

Swedish Delegation Discusses Consular Issues

LD0103143189 Moscow TASS in English 1113 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Stockholm March 1 TASS—Consultations on consular problems between delegations of the Soviet and Swedish Foreign Ministries were held here on February 27-28. They discussed the main areas of cooperation in this sphere and the consolidation of its legal basis.

Participants in the consultations discussed in detail the improvement of the visa-issuing procedure and the consular support for the growing economic, scientific, technical, cultural and other relations between the two countries. They exchanged views on a possibility of using honorary (non-staff) consuls in maintaining bilateral relations, which could become a promising form of expanding consular relations.

Leningrad Truck Drivers Deny Swedish Charges

LD0403134989 Moscow TASS in English 1243 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Leningrad March 4 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vitaliy Tarasenko:

"Everything written in Swedish newspapers about Soviet drivers are far-fetch nonsense or rather ill-intentioned fabrication", argued Sergey Karibskiy, a 38-year-old Leningrad driver who has just returned from Stockholm. He brought back with him a stack of newspapers whose articles at first amused and then outraged his colleagues.

The Swedish press alleges that Soviet tank operators disguising as mechanics-drivers drive lorries emblazoned with the word "Sovtransavto" on Scandinavia's roads. They allegedly make a close study of raods, bridges and photograph military facilities. Every such report has a mandatory tag reference: "report-warning by the Swedish Foreign Ministry" prepared specially for mass media.

Sergey Karibskiy is a native of Leningrad. He studied for two years at the polytechnical institute and then served in anti-aircraft defence forces. Upon the completion of the military service he changed jobs and became a lorry driver. He has been working in Sovavto-Leningrad for the last 11 years. He has travelled all over Europe and now drives lorries to Finland and Sweden. "I like Swedes. Good and businesslike relations have shaped up between Sovavto-Leningrad and the firms to which I deliver cargoes. But let me be frank: Spot inspections and the shadowing of our lorries on the road interfere with our work and are insulting".

"We have a saying 'a close neighbour is more important than a distant relative", says Anatoliy Ropotikhin, Sovavto-Leningrad director. "Therefore, I hold that there should be no hard feelings between us. At a recent annual meeting in Stockholm between officials of the Ministry of Road Transport of the Russian Federation and Sweden's Transport Council we voiced our concern over the clamour surrounding Soviet drivers, which clearly does not attune with the general warming of the political climate in Europe.

"Klas Eric Norbum, general director of Sweden's Transport Council, agreed with this conclusion and has reaffirmed that he has no facts of the violation by Soviet drivers of Swedish laws. This year's protocol leaves unchanged the number of permits for the entry of Sweden by Sovtransavto lorries".

Petrovskiy Meets Norwegian Environment Aides

PM0103144189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Evening Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, has received Utheim Byelter, ambassador for the environment of the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, and Lie Trond, general director of the Ministry of Environmental Affairs.

They discussed questions concerning the development of international and European cooperation in establishing comprehensive protection of the environment.

Moscow Intellectuals Meet Western Journalists

LD0203223789 Moscow TASS in English 2205 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—The processes of renewal in all spheres of Soviet life and the elements of new thinking in world affairs were the focus of a meeting in the Soviet capital between Moscow intellectuals and West European journalists.

Literary critic Yuriy Karyakin raised problems which he said were of paramount significance. He stressed the need for urgent and parallel efforts to eliminate nuclear weapons and improve the environment.

Analysing the state of the Soviet economy, the well known Soviet scholar Gavril Popov said that the reform's success depended to a large degree on how fast the outdated bureaucratic structures of administration were dismantled, and leasing, cooperative relations in production and wholesale trade were introduced in the economy.

The participants in the meeting disagreed on the question of multiparty system. LE MONDE's Editor-in-Chief Daniel Vernet said the new progressive forms of economic management need political protection, which could be provided by opposition parties. Elim Klimov, the first secretary of the Soviet Film Makers Union, objected saying that the potential for advancing and discussing alternative views, which existed in the CPSU framework, has not been exhausted. For his part poet Yevgeniy Yevtushenko stressed that freedom of an individual to express and uphold his or her views on the best way of achieving economic and social progress, irrespective of whether it happens in the framework of one- or multi-party system, is vital for any country and society.

The meeting was attended by Eugenio Scalfari, editor of the newspaper LA REPUBBLICA, Daniel Vernet, LE MONDE editor-in-chief, and Daniel Gabela, international news editor of the newspaper EL PAIS.

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaragua Settlement Prospects Viewed

PM0203101589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Kamorin dispatch: "Nicaragua: After 8 Years of War"]

[Text] Managua-Havana—REUTER reports that the Nicaraguan Government has submitted specific new proposals regarding the location of contra groups after they are finally disarmed. In particular, it proposes a guarantee that passports will be issued to all members of the formations who wish to remain in Honduras or any other third country. The Nicaraguan authorities will allocate plots of land to those wishing to return home.

The new plan put forward by Nicaragua envisages disarming and relocating the contras over a 3-month period. If it is implemented it will be an important step toward the implementation of the agreements concluded in El Salvador by the five Central American heads of state.

Various assessments have been made of the five Central American presidents' meeting in mid-February. Some observers have described its decisions as "almost unbelievable progress" toward settling the regional conflict, while others believe that the El Salvador conference final document raises more questions than answers. At any rate this meeting was a definite turning point in people's minds and led to a new alignment of emphasis—from military to political.

In agreeing on the disarming and relocation of the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary armed formations, which should now choose whether to return to Nicaragua and take advantage of the amnesty decree, remain in Honduras as emigres, or travel to third countries, the Central American heads of state voted unequivocally against a military solution of the conflict. Having roughed out a joint action program, they voiced their intention to give up the struggle previously foisted on them by the United States against the specter of "world communism" and finally take a close look at the root causes of the regional flare-up: poverty, illiteracy, and social inequality.

This shift to political reality on the Central American isthmus lays the foundations for change in all the countries that took part in the conference in El Salvador. However, this applies to Nicaragua above all.

Thus, the meeting noted that the counterrevolutionary units have suffered a political and military defeat. The attacks by the groups that once described themselves as "fronts" have degenerated into run-of-the-mill banditry. Moreover, a whole series of splits have occurred within the contra elite, which has only aggravated their position. One commentator at the El Salvador meeting said that "the contras have been prepared for burial."

Does this mean that Nicaragua will finally escape from outside pressure? Carlos Carrion Cruz, a prominent member of the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN], answered this question in the following way during a conversation with me:

"It is hard to talk about victory in our position. The war may have ended in a draw. We have eliminated the contras as a military force and as a political alternative to the FSLN, but this has only been possible at supreme economic and social cost. People in our country are now saying: 'Reagan's gone, but the revolution's still here!' That is true, but we must also realize that we are covered with wounds and ruined. The revolution will have to make tremendous efforts in order to progress. It is quite obvious that future U.S. strategy will be to rouse the population to call the FSLN to account for the most acute economic situation that has taken shape."

The new U.S. Administration's strategy on Nicaragua has not yet taken full shape. In the course of the election campaign and immediately afterward G. Bush skirted this topic in view of the White House's complicity in the "Iran-contra" scandal. However, speeches by the President and close members of his staff give quite clear glimpses of an intention to "keep up the pressure on the Sandinists."

It is unlikely that the former stress on the contras will continue: This gambit is too unpopular both in Central America and in the U.S. Congress. But on the other hand there is some similarity to the 1973 option in Chile: All indications are that the Bush administration's "strategy for pressure" will be based on the kindling of economic tension plus generous financing for the internal political opposition.

Nicaragua's economic position is becoming a "breeding ground" for this kind of course. Despite the government's energetic efforts, it has not yet proved possible to curb inflation in the country. Given the fact that Nicaragua's export revenue has halved in comparison with the 1980-1983 level, the state budget recently adopted by the Republic's National Assembly carries from the outset a balance of trade deficit. This is despite the fact that defense and security spending has been reduced by one-third, the implementation of many of the state's planned projects halted, and social programs reduced. As a result of reductions in ministry personnel, approximately 12,000 state employees could find themselves out of work.

Speaking of the reasons for the crisis phenomena within the Nicaraguan economy, Francisco Lopez, the well-known economist, stressed during a conversation with me:

"The revolution has inherited the economic structure of backward dependent capitalism. If you like, Nicaragua was in third place in terms of backwardness in Latin America after Haiti and Honduras. Following the 1979 victory the revolutionary authorities tried to put an end to this historical backwardness in the shortest time possible on the basis of the FSLN's strategic principles: mixed economy, political pluralism, and nonalignment in the world arena. The first reforms, particularly in the social sphere, caused the people to have great expectations. However, then conditions changed. The 8 years of war cost Nicaragua almost 50,000 of its citizens' lives and $12 billion in damage. This picture was compounded by the overall unfavorable world market situation. Nor did we avoid management mistakes: an overgenerous credit policy and large capital investments in major facilities, with no promise of profit in the near future... Hurricane 'Joanne' was the last straw. According to calculations, it caused the country losses of $840 million."

"If anything can lift this country out of the ruins, it is the united efforts of all Nicaraguans," F. Lopez continued. "However, the opposition is criticizing our economic policy increasingly actively, exploiting national problems to step up its attacks on the government."

I saw for myself the justice of F. Lopez' words during a conversation with the leader of possibly the oppositionists' most powerful wing—Gilberto Cuadra, chairman of the private sector supreme council . I only heard one response to my persistent attempts to clarify what economic measures he—as an entrepreneur and economist—deems necessary to resolve Nicaragua's economic problems: "There can only be a political solution. We're not asking for hard currency or tax cuts—we demand that the government be replaced. The country's main problem is lack of confidence. No economic reforms will change anything here."

You can hear the same thing constantly from LA PRENSA, the rightists' main mouthpiece: "If the Sandinists leave, everything will solve itself on its own." How? With more U.S. aid? No one says this openly but it is extremely obvious from their hope to buy the affections of the Nicaraguans, who are having to tighten their belts even further.

The weakest point in the policy of the government's opponents is their lack of a coordinated program. According to sociological poll data, the FSLN's social base is quite stable, unlike those of the numerous opposition parties, alliances, and factions. The Sandinists are not afraid of taking responsibility for the country's future; they are persistently seeking a way out of the very complex situation in which the country has found itself, reacting flexibly to changes in the economy and actively seeking alternative sources of foreign finance. Responsibility, rather than bare-faced faultfinding, is what Nicaragua needs now, and many people in the country realize this.

Let us recall that the Nicaraguan Government was forced to release former Somocistas from jail. It is envisaged that a general election will be held in February 1990 under broad international supervision.

But the Nicaraguan Government recently resumed national dialogue with the opposition political parties—dialogue that the opposition unilaterally broke off last April—in accordance with the pledges made at the Central American presidents' meeting in El Salvador.

The country's 11 political parties are taking part in the national dialogue. The main topics of the dialogue include the preparation and implementation of an election campaign, the broadening of democratic rights and freedoms, the granting of broader opportunities for the opposition to take part in preparing and holding elections, the production of new media, including the opening of a private television channel, and the revision of the current election law.

Will the United States finally resign itself to the existence of Sandinist Nicaragua? Time will tell. It is important that the emphasis is shifting and the gunsmoke is gradually clearing over Central America.

New Ambassador to Colombia Appointed

PM0603141589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 89 Second Edition p 8

[Unattributed "Chronicle" report]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Igor Dmitriyevich Bubnov USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Colombia.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Comrade I.D. Bubnov of his duties as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Suriname in connection with his transfer to other work.

Ecuador Ambassador Completes Moscow Tour
PM0703105789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, gave a breakfast in honor of R. Silva del Pozo, ambassador of the Republic of Ecuador to the Soviet Union, 2 March, in connection with the completion of the latter's mission in Moscow.

Political & Social

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Gorkom Plenum 24 Feb

PM0303121189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 89 pp 1-4

[Unattributed report: "Strict Party Control for Adopted Decisions. Moscow CPSU Gorkom Plenum"]

[Excerpts] A Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum was held 24 February.

The plenum was opened by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow party gorkom.

The plenum heard a report from Yu.A. Prokofyev, second secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, on the plan for realizing the criticisms and suggestions made at the 27th Moscow City CPSU Organization Conference and on the CPSU Gorkom commissions. [Passage omitted]

A report was heard from V.K. Belyaninov, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, on progress in fulfilling the comprehensive plan for the city's economic and social development in the 12th 5-Year Plan.

The plenum discussed a report by Yu.A. Prokofyev, second secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, on the course of the election campaign to elect USSR people's deputies.

The composition of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom commissions was approved (lists of the commissions are published).

L.N. Zaykov delivered a speech at the plenum.

Resolutions were adopted on the issues discussed.

The plenum approved V.M. Povolyayev as chief editor of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting Main Television and Radio Programs Editorial Board for Moscow.

Members of the Moscow City Party Organization Control and Auditing Commission and V.N. Gorelov, senior organizer of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, participated in the plenum's work. [Passage omitted]

L.N. Zaykov addressed the Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum.

The discussion of the plan for realizing the criticisms and suggestions made at the 27th Moscow City CPSU Organization Conference and the formation of the party gorkom commissions, he said, conclude the great work done during the reports and elections and begin the no less complex stage of fulfilling the set tasks.

The conference delegates sharply raised questions connected with ensuring unity of word and action. The members of the new party gorkom and of the Control and Auditing Commission must also achieve such unity.

You will recall how the discussion of the conference resolution proceeded quite sharply. Delegates made many specific, sensible suggestions aimed at successfully resolving urgent socioeconomic tasks of Moscow's development, improving Muscovites' working and living conditions, and raising the standard of ideological education work. But the most important thing is that the adopted resolution is aimed at improving the forms, methods, and style of party leadership of all aspects of the city's vital activity under conditions of restructuring.

The conference defined priority areas of work on renewing all aspects of the life of the city CPSU organization. Questions of enhancing every Communist's responsibility for the cause of restructuring were sharply raised. It was pointed out that constant reliance on grassroots party links is needed. We must consistently and firmly implement a policy of further democratizing internal party life.

The resolution of the 27th City Party Conference is directed at all members and candidate members of the party gorkom, members of the Control and Auditing Commission, and also all party raykoms. This document is the basis of our work through the next conference. The criticisms and suggestions made during the reports and elections must be the basis on which the long-term plans for the activities of the party gorkom and raykoms take shape.

The task of organizing efficient control over their fulfillment in all components of the city party organization and over the realization of the adopted decisions is being brought to the fore.

The criticisms and suggestions we have examined today encapsulate everything of which the city's Communists spoke at meetings and conferences. They voiced concern at the slow implementation of the economic reform and gave reasons why it is faltering. One problem is the lack of persistence on the part of a number of Communists in leadership positions in introducing more progressive forms of labor organization and incentives.

Because of passiveness and bureaucratic sluggishness questions of introducing regional economic accountability in the Moscow City Soviet planning organs and in higher organizations are being resolved tardily. And there are still considerable freeloading sentiments in certain labor collectives, where the introduction of economic accountability is understood only as an increase in wages.

Meetings leveled particularly cutting criticism at instances of red tape and bureaucracy, the failure of economic leaders to fulfill promises given earlier, and

the relaxation of control over these issues on the part of elected party organs. Attention was drawn to the urgency of resolving ecological problems and fulfilling resolutions adopted on removing outside the city limits enterprises which pollute the environment.

Communists, like all working people, are concerned about the tendencies of certain kinds of consumer goods sold at contract prices to become more expensive and of inexpensive products, particularly for children and elderly people, to be "flushed" out of the range and about the lack of order in price formation.

Just criticism was leveled at our general inactivity with regard to the deviations which have become apparent in the cooperative movement, where, instead of expanding production of goods and increasing volumes of services, there is speculation in products and foodstuffs obtained in the state sector.

Muscovites spoke quite sharply about the activities of certain informal associations which interpret democratization as total license and proposed specific measures to improve work with such associations.

Communists evaluated critically the progress of restructuring in party work. They pointed out that stereotypes of thinking are being overcome with difficulty in many party organizations and voiced serious concern at the trend of falling admissions to the party's ranks, at the waning prestige of certain party committees and bureaus, and at their inadequate influence on the processes taking place in labor collectives and at the population's places of residence.

A more principled assessment than before was made of the activities of party raykoms. Specific criticisms were addressed to secretaries of CPSU party committees and raykoms and individual members of elected organs with regard to changing the style and methods of their activity.

The participants in meetings and conferences spoke of the need to resolutely reject party committees' supplanting of soviet and economic organs and public organizations. They emphasized that it is necessary to adhere strictly to the thesis that the party pursues its political course through the Communists who work in them.

The nature of the criticisms and suggestions and the range of problems raised during the reports and elections clearly showed the Communists' businesslike and constructive mood and their desire to delve deeply into the causes of shortcomings and to take specific measures to instill order in production and in the social sphere and to enhance the role of party organizations in renewing all aspects of internal party and social life.

It has to be said that party committees and economic leaders have begun paying closer attention to work with criticisms and suggestions. The atmosphere of glasnost and businesslike comradely criticism which characterized the majority of meetings and conferences had an effect. Communists were not embarrassed to speak openly about omissions in work, including in the work of secretaries of party organizations and Communist leaders. Criticism of named persons made us take a new look at the state of affairs in collectives.

All the remarks and wishes expressed at party meetings and conferences have been generalized in primary party organizations and party raykoms, and plans for measures have been drawn up and approved with regard to them.

Today you and I have approved a plan to realize the criticisms made at the city conference. It is noteworthy that this was not a formal act, as in the past. The plenum participants heatedly discussed every point in it and made new suggestions. And this is a good start to our joint work. We must continue to work with you precisely in the spirit of collegiality and party comradeship.

It is important to emphasize here that the realization of criticisms has already begun. The gorkom has received numerous suggestions from party raykoms which will make up the work program of the bureau and the commissions which have been formed.

Hence one of the commissions' chief tasks. This is to monitor the fulfillment of all adopted decisions and to organize their execution. Nothing of what has been outlined must remain just on paper. Everything must be fulfilled on time and with good quality. This is the concern of every party gorkom member and every party worker.

It is also the paramount duty of leaders of economic and soviet organs and the party members working in them to fulfill the decisions adopted by the conference and to realize Communists' suggestions. It is this that constitutes observance of party and state discipline and of one of the basic requirements of the party statutes by every Communist. How this requirement is fulfilled in party organizations, how they organize the implementation of the party's general line and directives—all this must also constitute the substance of the work of the control and auditing commissions of the city party organization and the rayon party organizations.

Our mass media—the press, television, and radio—must also get actively involved in monitoring the fulfillment of adopted decisions. Everything must be done in public, openly, and under working people's control.

A few words about how the work of the party gorkom commissions approved today is seen. The commissions that have been created are not cumbersome. But, quite frankly, we did not set ourselves the goal of "assigning" literally all the gorkom members to them. We deliberately got away from the wholesale approach. I believe we

have found their optimum quantitative composition. The commissions will be mobile and better managed. With such a composition they will find it easier to formulate decisions.

However, this certainly does not mean that the rest of the comrades elected to the gorkom will find themselves without active work. The plenum participants have been issued with questionnaires of a sort. Their purpose is to take better account of everyone's wishes and interests and to use the creative potential of gorkom members for the greatest return in the commissions' work. These wishes will be taken into account when forming working groups to generalize positive experience, study the state of affairs locally, and prepare questions for plenums, aktiv meetings, and sessions of the Moscow Gorkom Bureau.

It is of fundamental importance that the commissions, which consist of members of an elected organ, are not subordinate to the apparatus but, on the contrary, the apparatus assists them.

Of course, the gorkom commissions are intended to cooperate closely with the corresponding party raykom commissions and give them practical assistance in matters of party building, the improvement of cadre and ideological work, and the political leadership of the socioeconomic development of the city and the rayons.

Today's plenum concludes the preparatory stage of generalizing a collective approach to resolving the priority tasks defined in the resolution of the 27th City Party Organization Conference. It is now a matter of taking specific steps to implement the plans.

I would like to single out the most important of the diverse tasks facing us. The elaboration of the "Progress-95" comprehensive territorial-sectoral program for intensifying Moscow's economy is practically complete. The program has been examined and approved by the USSR Gosplan, the State Committee for Science and Technology, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium. At the next bureau session we will also approve the basic guidelines of "Progress-95" and will then submit the program to the Central Committee Politburo for consideration.

Incidentally, many criticisms made during the report and election campaign were taken into account at the concluding stage of this document's elaboration. The most important thing is beginning now—the practical implementation of what has been planned. The serious program that has been elaborated to develop the city's economy cannot be permitted—and you and I will not permit it—to remain just a collection of various documents. We have already "been through" this, and we were criticized for this at the city conference.

I wish to emphasize once again that the program will start working only when territorial and sectoral interests are skillfully combined at all levels of management. With regard to the rayon link this means that the optimum forms of cooperation between rayispolkoms and all the enterprises located on a rayon's territory must be found. All work on enhancing the rayispolkoms' role must begin precisely with the rayon link, by building economic relations between labor collectives and the territory.

Preparations are now being made to introduce the principles of regional economic accountability and self-financing at the rayon and city level.

Moscow's accumulated work experience will make it possible to approve approaches to creating a normative base for the shaping of local budgets and to resolve a package of questions of self-management at all levels of territorial division characteristic of large multisector industrial cities. For the successful restructuring of management of Moscow's economy and social sphere use must be made of the fact that central management organs and head economic institutes operate in the capital.

In short, Comrades, the realization of the "Progress-95" program and the introduction of elements of economic accountability into the management of the city economy must be under the strict party control, above all, of CPSU raykoms. Incidentally, it was no coincidence that during the reports and elections communists drew attention, above all, to the flawed nature of the mechanism for managing the city economy and to slippage in resolving the most essential questions for the city's normal functioning.

Most criticism was leveled at our bureaucratically sluggish ispolkom apparatuses, which are deaf to Muscovites' needs. Despite the fact that we have restructured managerial structures and introduced a new master plan for management of the Moscow economy, there has been no increase in systematicness in this matter. On the contrary, the impression is being created that some people are trying to adapt an essentially well conceived matter and a system of management geared to running the economy in a new way—to adapt them to old habits and to a firmly rooted style and methods of management.

The example of the protracted coming into being of the Moscow Construction Committee is characteristic in this regard. There was quite a lot of criticism of it at the meetings and conferences. V.A. Zatvornitskiy, team leader for the No 1 "Mosstroy" Trust, spoke sharply of the existing shortcomings in the committee at a meeting with M.S. Gorbachev.

We discussed in detail the tasks of Moscow construction workers connected with the creation of the Moscow Construction Committee at the end of last year. It seemed that all the "i's" had been dotted then. Everyone

seemed to understand everything: how to reduce the number of management links and the numbers of administrative personnel, how to introduce economic accountability. The tasks of planning and construction associations, which, unlike the former main administrations, are production units to which all the provisions of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise apply, were clearly defined. The labor collective councils created in these associations were granted the full right themselves to decide the ratio between the numbers of production and managerial personnel and to make any sensible changes to management structures.

The scheme that has been laid down and, most importantly, the idea of management of the city's construction industry are viable. The only trouble is that people have taken a formal approach to fulfilling it and reduced to a pure procedure mergers of existing subdivisions without restructuring their activities.

We recently had once again to convene the party and economic aktiv of Moscow construction workers and investigate in detail why the scheme for management of the construction process malfunctions. The conference participants were unanimous that the right approach to eliminating narrow departmentalism and the disunity of all the participants in the investment cycle has, on the whole, been chosen.

I will focus attention on several other specific examples which, incidentally, are well known to all those present and which attest to the inability and sometimes even the reluctance of economic leaders to act as restructuring and, most importantly, Muscovites' needs demand.

Muscovites rightly criticize us, for example, for the disgraceful state of the streets. Ispolkom services have sufficient resources and organization to report to the newspaper, radio, and television on measures supposedly taken. But in actual fact, as the saying goes, everything remains the same.

Winter is coming to an end, but there are no specific suggestions as to how to rectify the matter. The snow will melt, and it seems that everything will be forgotten until the next winter surprises us.

But the disgraceful state of the surface of main roads, streets, and sidewalks will be revealed. Again—no specific suggestions as to how to put the roads in order and do so well, not for one season but for years to come. Will we once again set about patching holes, driving thousands upon thousands of rubles into the mud?

The rayispolkom is master of its territory. It is the task of party committees not to supplant soviet and economic organs, not to organize the clearing and modernization of streets and territories instead of them, but strictly to monitor the fulfillment of adopted decisions and enhance the responsibility of those carrying them out. This is the division of functions. If we do not do this, all rebukes will continue to be addressed to the party gorkom and we, figuratively speaking, will be beaten by the people.

I cannot fail to speak about another issue for which workers rightly criticized us at a recent meeting at the CPSU Central Committee. It is a question of the inadmissible situation which has taken shape in the Arbat.

Vulgarity and sometimes even overt anti-Sovietism have flowered luxuriantly there under the flag of democracy. Parasites, vagrants, and antisocial elements have found refuge there.

Why does the Kiyevskiy raykom look indifferently on all this? Why does it not mobilize the people and labor collectives to combat these disgraceful things? If the raykom and the rayon party organizations lack the resources, why has the CPSU raykom first secretary not asked for assistance or submitted to the party gorkom suggestions for instilling order in the Arbat?

A more resolute struggle must be waged against extremists and nationalist persons and groups of people.

The need to defend the interests of our people's state has not fallen away. This is the demand of Moscow's working people and working class on its party organization. And this will have nothing in common with an infringement of democracy, just as demagoguery, extremism, and nationalism have nothing in common with democracy, that is, with people's power.

Formalism and callousness toward people on the part of party and soviet organs are particularly intolerable. Such instances are, alas, not rare.

Today I would like to set the plenum participants a specific task.

The withdrawal of Soviet military formations from Afghan territory was completed several days ago. The Soviet Union has fulfilled in full its pledges to the world community in the interests of settling the situation in that region, in the interests of reducing international tension.

Afghanistan is a heavy page in our history. We will remember forever those who gave their lives in that war on the side of the Afghan revolution.

We are greeting as heroes the Afgantsy servicemen who have returned to the motherland. They must feel our respect and gratitude every day.

Concern for the internationalist servicemen, for their return to civilian life, concern for those who lost their health in fighting on Afghan soil is a profoundly party cause, just like concern for our veterans.

This is why every instance of an inattentive, bureaucratic approach to the needs of Afgantsy servicemen will be regarded as incompatible with the title of Communist and as defaming party policy, the policy of restructuring.

Practical, concrete results in the work of party committees today determine the party's prestige. The initiative of restructuring belongs to the party and will remain in its hands.

Wide preparations are now being made for the elections of USSR people's deputies. This is a crucial political campaign taking place for the first time under conditions of a real and sometimes even a tough political struggle.

It must be bluntly admitted that many party raykoms have lost their head, taken a back seat, and allowed all organizational and agitprop election work to drift along. Those who are trying to wreck the processes of renewal have taken advantage of this without delay. A particularly great misfortune is the inability of party workers to hold political discussions and to enter into political arguments with those who are trying to talk out restructuring and talk people's heads off.

A no less crucial stage of the election campaign is starting now—agitation for the nominated candidate deputies. Candidates are to hold meetings with voters. Most careful preparations must be made for them. The old schemes to which people are accustomed will no longer do now. Lessons must be drawn from mistakes and omissions.

We must not, for example, lose sight of the authoritative leaders who came to light on being nominated but did not get through the subsequent stages of the election campaign. We need these people both in the Moscow City Soviet and in rayon soviets, and they will be able to represent Moscow worthily on the republic's supreme organ of people's power.

This is our political potential, on which we must rely.

These, Comrades, are the thoughts which I would like to share with you on summing up the discussion of the questions submitted for today's plenum.

The present gorkom is only just beginning to function. Everything lies ahead, as it were.

I would like to end with the following. The prestige of the city party organization is not determined by the personality of the first secretary nor even by the party gorkom bureau. It is determined by the standard of work, the initiative, exactingness, responsibility, and coordination of all members of elected organs. If we organize the party gorkom's work in just this way, then the results which Muscovites expect of us will come about. [Passage omitted]

Zaykov Attends Moscow Election Meeting 3 Mar

LD0303185589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] The election campaign is continuing throughout the country. It is being distinguished by high political activeness by the working people and by a desire to send back genuine advocates of democracy and restructuring to the supreme legislative body of our country. Within the framework of the third stage of the election drive, meetings are now taking place in the cities with candidates for seats as USSR people's deputies. Thus, notably, Comrade Lukyanov met with voters in Smolensk, and Comrade Razumovskiy is currently in Kazakhstan.

We have also received reports about how today the deputies, or rather the candidates for seats as deputies for the Moscow city national-territorial constituency and for 26 territorial constituencies met at the Moscow Gorispolkom with leaders of the soviet and economic bodies of the city, and with the chairmen of the constituency electoral commissions.

It is also stated in a dispatch that Comrade Zaykov, a candidate for a seat as USSR people's deputy for the Communist Party, took part in the meeting.

Lukyanov Views Restructuring During Smolensk Visit

PM0703102189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Fully Reveal the Potential of Soviet People's Power"]

[Text] Smolensk, 4 Mar—A most important political event in the life of our country is the current election campaign, which starts the reform of our society's political system and will lead to the revival of the soviets and the real flourishing of socialist democracy. This was underlined by the participants in a meeting between the Smolensk Oblast party and economic aktiv and A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, whom several dozen party organizations in the oblast have nominated as CPSU candidate to the new supreme body of state power.

The meeting was opened by A.A. Vlasenko, first secretary of the Smolensk party obkom.

The audience was addressed by A.I. Lukyanov. Everyone capable of unbiased thought, he said, can see that the process of renewal has affected every sphere of our lives: the economic, political, social, and spiritual spheres. The establishment of glasnost and democracy, the healthier moral climate, and the openness and new thinking in politics are introducing the working man to the rapids of political and social life. This, strictly speaking, was the point of the October revolution.

But the path from April 1985 to the present day has not been an automatic repetition of the experience gained by the party and the people, nor has it involved the simple elimination of errors brought to light. We have risen to a new level of understanding of the situation in which our society has found itself. We have come to better appreciate that, without disclosing the potential and advantages of socialism, without restoring its Leninist concepts, and without reviving a critical, revolutionary spirit of thought and action in the party, the country, and society, our country will not move forward. It is a question of restoring to socialism the democracy and dynamism which are objectively inherent in it.

A difficult past does not disappear in the same way as a landscape seen through the window of a fast-moving train. There is still a very great deal to be done in order to revive a humanist understanding of our ideals and fully introduce the main character in history—the people—to the arena of life.

In embarking on the renewal of Soviet society the party did not merely indicate what needed to be done. It also answered the question of how to do things and which lever to use to deepen restructuring. The broadening of democracy and the implementation of political reform are this Archimedes' lever. We were led to the need for such reform by the logic of the transformations begun and prompted by life itself. This task can only be fulfilled by radically renewing political and state institutions and smashing bureaucratic-edict structures. In this respect the party has also opened up something else: the difficult but important restructuring front.

The crux of political reform lies in establishing full people's power in practice; decisively shifting the exercise of authority to the sphere of activity of the soviets, as the foundation of socialist statehood and self-management; and placing the soviets above all other state institutions. It is also important to organize all work in such a way that party policy—economic, social, and ethnic—is implemented through the soviets and to ensure that no important state or economic issue is decided in circumvention of the soviets—and particularly not behind their backs.

One of the most important aspects of political reform is to clearly delimit the functions of party and soviet bodies. Another is to create a firm material and financial base for the soviets, because, as M.S. Gorbachev has pointed out, we need local soviets that can stand on their own two feet. This, in turn, should be underpinned by firm economic foundations, which is something now greatly talked of and written about by deputies, ispolkom officials, scientists, and publicists. All this, coupled with the strengthening of the Soviet apparatus' cadres, will make it possible to breathe new life forces into the soviets.

With the adoption of the Law on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution and the Law on Elections at the USSR Supreme Soviet session, the speaker went on to point out, the country has begun its implementation of political reform. The election campaign—as a result of which a new body of deputies will be formed—is in full swing. A very responsible mission will rest on its shoulders: the leadership of all general state affairs.

In response to a request to outline his election program, the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium said:

For me, as for any Communist, the concept of restructuring, the decisions of the 27th party congress and the 19th party conference, and the aims and tasks formulated by the Central Committee in its address "To the Party and the Soviet People" constitute this program. They outline all the most vital aspects of renewing the country's political, social, and spiritual life. Political reform, the deepening of democracy, the strengthening of legality, and the building of a rule-of-law state are an inalienable part of this creative platform. Moreover, if I am to be more specific about this platform in relation to state building, the main aspects can be briefly summarized in general terms as follows:

The first and most important point: to put an end, once and for all, to the formal, sometimes submissive, purely superficial position of the Supreme Soviet, which stems from the era of the personality cult and stagnation. It must be a businesslike, working, exacting body of people's power. The will of the voters, their mandates, an unbiased, comprehensive appraisal of what is really happening in our society, and the democratic comparison of different opinions and alternative options—this, in my view, is what deputies' work should really consist of.

The second point: There are and can be no important problems relating to the life of society that are closed to discussion and resolution by the country's supreme representative body of authority: Gearing the economy to meet the needs of the individual, eliminating disproportions, price formation, interethnic relations, the ecological situation, the use of military contingents outside the country, the observance of social justice—all these issues must be considered by deputies.

The third point: We must decisively increase the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet to establish full power for soviets at all levels. The main issues in this respect are to support local soviets' initiative and independence, radically strengthen their material and financial base, and broaden local self-management. Special attention should be devoted to village and settlement soviets—they are the main ones to need help. It is therefore clear that a law on local self-management and the local economy should be adopted at the next Supreme Soviet session.

The fourth point: The law must dominate in a rule-of-law state. The Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet have an enormous amount of legislative work to do, particularly with regard to giving legal consolidation to lease relations, the protection of consumer interests, and many issues connected with pensions and land, labor, and housing rights. We still do not have any laws directly concerned with a number of personal rights and freedoms: on the rights of young people, on the press, on the status of social organizations, on freedom of conscience, and so forth.

The fifth point: The work of the Supreme Soviet must be the epicenter from which the activity of executive bodies and all other state bodies is monitored. This kind of high-level monitoring assumes regular reports from administrative bodies, the examination of government responses to deputy requests, and, most important of all, the assessment of work by specific people and the disclosure and removal of incompetent working people, idlers, bureaucrats, and people who like to pull the wool over one's eyes. This means that deputies' influence on the selection and placement of cadres in all key state posts will gradually increase. This right is currently enjoyed by the Supreme Soviet and its committees and standing commissions.

The sixth point: All levers and mechanisms for strengthening law and order and protecting the law and justice in our country must be fully brought into play. The law is effective only when it is strictly adhered to. Consequently, it is necessary to speed up the implementation of the legal-court reform outlined by the party, radically restructure the work of the courts, the public prosecutor's office, the militia, and members of the legal profession, and decisively improve the population's legal awareness. The time has come to draft and implement a broad state program to combat corruption, abuses of power, and any other transgressions.

The seventh point: The work of our country's supreme body of authority is impossible without glasnost, without very firm ties with the population and the public, and without every person being able to turn to it with his problems, concerns, and hopes. It must be a model of socialist democracy, guarding the interests of society as a whole and of every Soviet individual.

We have the necessary constitutional base for a qualitatively new level of work by the supreme body of authority. The efforts and support of the party are focused on this. The most important thing now is to responsibly and persistently utilize this potential and gradually work toward a truly democratic, truly humane, rule-of-law, and, at the same time, truly exacting social and state system.

We are living in a complex time, A.I. Lukyanov went on to note. There is no sphere of our lives—from global, world, general state problems to elementary, everyday concerns—which has not become the subject of public attention and interest to some degree. People are baring their souls in dialogue. But the lessons of democracy are not easily learned. Not everything is going calmly and smoothly. The party is aware of this. It will not only consistently further restructuring—it will also vigorously defend it. And there is a need for this.

Under the pretext of concern for socialism and its values some people would like to hold restructuring back "by the coattails" and keep untouched their comfortable positions and undeserved privileges. There is another extreme that is also unacceptable: leftist attempts to stir up feelings, coupled with demagogic appeals to force the pace of transformations, including on the basis of formulas far removed from our socialist choice. These "ultrarestructuring supporters" are often motivated purely by emotions, unsatisfied ambition, and sometimes even political adventurism. It is worth noting that the positions of those who criticize restructuring "from the right" and those who attack it "from the left" ultimately merge both in their attitude toward the past, their assessment of the present, and their views on the future.

We must all learn to distinguish between a stand and a pose, between honest skepticism and cynicism, between bold, useful ideas and extremism. In short, we must learn not simply to proclaim the right ideas but also to defend them knowledgeably.

We must not give irresponsible elements an opportunity to trample the behests of the October revolution and socialist principles sacred to us. Here, on the soil of Smolensk, drenched with the blood of hundreds of thousands of servicemen and partisans, this is particularly clear. I am not talking about embellishing history. I am talking about something quite different: the truth of life, albeit the bitter truth, but the truth nevertheless, of which Aleksandr Tvardovskiy wrote with such heartfelt pain.

As a member of the Central Committee Politburo commission responsible for the additional study of material connected with the repressions of the thirties, forties, and early fifties, I would like to touch on another issue. The commission has already examined hundreds of cases and restored the party name, honor, and dignity of innocent victims. This work is continuing and will be seen through to the end—that is our party and civic duty.

At the same time it is impossible not to notice that rehabilitation is sometimes also sought by sham "victims of lawlessness" exploiting the exposure of Stalinism, excriminals, Nazi stooges, and members of nationalist rebel formations. The rehabilitation of such people would be a blasphemy and an insult to the memory of the tortured, slandered victims of the tyranny, and in this respect the law and only the law will be the supreme arbiter.

At the present stage the importance of party leadership of all aspects of restructuring is growing immeasurably. Tackling practical matters and the new complex, creative tasks requires colossal efforts to consolidate our society and, as M.S. Gorbachev has stressed more than once, the maximum strengthening of the unity of will and actions of millions of Communists.

Why is the issue formulated in this way? Because the party has proposed a policy which accords with the fundamental interests and aspirations of the working people. Because the party has initiated the renewal and democratization of all aspects of social life. Because the party is indeed the only real political force that has led the struggle of the popular masses for the country's renewal and the continuation of October's cause.

Voicing full support for the CPSU course, which aims to further develop democracy and glasnost and improve financial and economic methods of leading the national economy, V.P. Krupkin, radio equipment regulator at the Smolensk "Analitpribor" production association; A.P. Tsisarkin, first secretary of Yelninskiy CPSU Raykom; V.L. Selezneva, pediatrician at the Demidov central rayon hospital; N.F. Zakharova, milkmaid at the Krasin sovkhoz in Smolenskiy Rayon, and others who addressed the meeting openly discussed difficulties in the development of industry, agriculture, and construction, unresolved problems in public education, and other problems facing our society in the restructuring period, and made their own suggestions on ways and methods to solve them.

At the end of the meeting, A.I. Lukyanov answered questions from those present.

PRAVDA Reports Smolensk Visit

PM0603140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Stay In Smolensk Oblast"]

[Text] During his 3-5 March stay in Smolensk Oblast A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, acquainted himself with various aspects of the locals' life and of the activities of party and soviet organs.

During visits to the "Radishchev" Kolkhoz in Gagarinskiy Rayon and the "Katynskiy" Sovkhoz in Smolenskiy Rayon, the conversations with peasants, farm specialists, and leaders dwelt on the pressing questions concerning expansion of the introduction of the lease system and other forms of collective and family contracts, the dependence of specialists' pay on end results, greater independence for rural collectives, and ensuring profitable operation. Much attention was paid to the provision of amenities and the creation of proper conditions for cultural and consumer facilities for rural workers, and to the consistent implementation of the "Revival of the Smolensk Countryside" program.

At the Nikolskiy Rural Soviet there was an exchange of views on ways to increase the role of local organs of soviet power and strengthen their economic, material, and financial potential. It was noted that the shortcomings of our state building are most graphically reflected at rayon and village level, and that a basis for their reorganization might be the idea of forming a territorial administration under which local soviets would be able to solve independently all matters having to do with their life.

There was an exchange of opinions at the Smolensk motor vehicle parts plant on accelerating scientific and technical progress, assimilating new technology, and achieving a modern standard of production. In a conversation with workers and specialists, A.I. Lukyanov inquired about progress in implementing the plan for economic and social development and the state of contract deliveries; emphasis was placed on the need to seek reserves to increase production and improve the quality of consumer goods. He visited the enterprise clinic and dispensary.

The first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium visited the oblast clinical hospital and talked with doctors, ancillary staff, and citizens undergoing treatment.

Flowers were laid at the monument to V.I. Lenin and at the eternal flame on the square commemorating heroes.

A.I. Lukyanov was accompanied by A.A. Vlasenko, first secretary of Smolensk CPSU Obkom, and A.I. Orlov, chairman of the oblispolkom.

Television Shows Kolkhoz Visit

LD0303235289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Sergey Slipchenko report: "In the Run-up to the Elections"]

[Excerpts] [Slipchenko] Good evening. The topic of the elections continues to be central on the pages of newspapers and magazines. [passage omitted] We have just received a report from Smolensk Oblast. Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the country's Supreme Soviet Presidium, is there at the moment.

The Radishchev kolkhoz has been run for 35 years now by Ivan Antonovich Denisenkov, and the main characteristic of its work is stability. He always believed that direct interest and independence in work would yield the

desired result. The farm is strong today, as it was 10 and 25 years ago. [video shows farm surroundings, cutting to shot of Lukyanov indoors, standing beside Denisenkov]

[Begin recording] [Denisenkov] [Words indistinct] from the produce obtained, and besides this not from loss-making produce, but from profitable produce. So we will have to try to ensure that all of our produce is not loss-making but profitable. The more inexpensive produce there is, the higher the pay for the milkmaid, the cattle farmer, crop cultivator, agronomist, zoo technician, and the chairman, that is for everyone.

[Lukyanov] We want to raise this task, this problem, broadly now at the Central Committee plenum for the whole country, and to resolve it so as to ensure that the specialist at the kolkhoz and the sovkhoz has as great an interest as possible in the final product. This is very important.

[Denisenkov] The manager most definitely. Then things will get moving.

[Lukyanov] Of course. [end recording]

[Slipchenko] Today Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov also looked around the flexible automated production systems at the Smolensk machine works. This is a satellite enterprise of the Likhachev vehicle works association. There was sharp talk here about the social development of the enterprise and the creation of the most up-to-date technology. [video shows Lukyanov accompanied by numerous other men in the factory, automated machinery in operation, Lukyanov talking with factory workers]

Yeltsin Believes That 'Apparatus' Opposes Him

PM0703104189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 19 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with USSR Minister B.N. Yeltsin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosstroy, by special correspondent V. Ivanov on 1 February 1989, datelined Tallinn-Moscow-Tallinn and carried under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "B.N. Yeltsin: '...Truth Is Very Important for People'"—first two paragraphs are a boxed introduction]

[Text] **People are still talking about Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. One often comes across both written and verbal questions like: What is he doing now? What are his plans?**

The editorial office decided to obtain the answers at first hand. Our correspondent interviewed USSR Minister B.N. Yeltsin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosstroy.

[Ivanov] Boris Nikolayevich, the situation today is such that some OBVIOUS economic changes for the better are needed for successful advance in restructuring. But this also requires rather a lengthy period of time and major efforts. There is, at the same time, another way: POLITICAL reforms which do not require immediate material expenditure or capital investments.... But is there not some danger of putting the cart before the horse? In other words, of "rushing" so far ahead on the political plane as to make it that much harder for the economic rear services to catch up?

[Yeltsin] First, I would not set the one in opposition to the other. It is obviously necessary to implement simultaneously both political and economic reforms. And even though I have stood corrected on numerous occasions, I would still affirm time and again my commitment to the view I expressed both at the 19th party conference and beforehand—namely: Generally speaking there was no well thought-out **concept** of restructuring with its **stage-by-stage** implementation and an indication of **the results** at every stage. This is why I would describe its nature as spasmodic—halfway political and halfway economic.... On the whole, without any result.

[Ivanov] But was it actually possible to compile so detailed a program for such a gigantic country like ours and in such a complex situation as the one in which we found ourselves in the mid-eighties?

[Yeltsin] Not only was it possible, it was also necessary. I am not talking about long-term prospects through the 3d millennium. We are talking about the next 15 years at most! And what should have been done without fail was to forecast the development of the situation and define priorities for the first 3-4 years.

I perceive as nothing more than a mistake the fact that no target for raising the people's living standards was set as the paramount task. Apart from anything else, this represents so much time lost—3 and ½ years. Only recently have program resolutions been adopted on improving supplies of food, commodities, services, and housing. Yet this should have been done at the very beginning. Not to conduct restructuring **on a broad front** as was said at the time—since we have neither the resources, nor the manpower, nor the potential to do this—but to concentrate along the main avenues of meeting people's essential needs. How should this have been funded? **By cutting back or putting off for 5 years a series of our space programs. By cutting back funds for defense needs.** Also, of course, at the expense of some other sectors. But in any case to ensure that, within these 3-4 years, people would sense that living standards had risen and supplies had improved. Then they would have associated this directly with restructuring: "You see, we were offered yet another slogan, like the ones we got so used to, but this time the slogan was matched by deeds."

This is not a question of total abundance of everything people's hearts desired. This is still a long way away. But people must sense something **tangible,** they must personally experience changes for the better. This could have been achieved.

To continue: The "feedback" would have come into operation, and people would have given 50 percent and 100 percent more work and efforts in favor of restructuring—that would have been the time to launch the "offensive" on a broad front.

This, in my view, is where a tactical mistake was committed, and this is where I disagreed with many others.

[Ivanov] Boris Nikolayevich, some people today are inclined to perceive the real way out of the economic blind alley as lying through the development of the cooperative movement, which would force the state sector to "shake itself up" by competing against it; through an activation of the market mechanism. What do you think about it?

[Yeltsin] I believe that the cooperative movement is perfectly entitled to exist, like the multiplicity of other forms of economic development. But even here: Hitherto the government has failed to find the best possible way (whether by legislative acts or by other means) to, on the one hand, prevent excessive enrichment by "newly hatched cooperative members..."

[Ivanov] ...And not always honestly acquired!

[Yeltsin] ...Yes. But also, on the other hand, not to kill off people's desire to engage in cooperative or individual labor activity. There is also a third aspect: It is also necessary to give state enterprises more rights, to bring them in this regard closer to cooperatives, which today enjoy a relatively greater freedom in their choice of partners and in the solution of questions of supply and the marketing of output.

[Ivanov] In this context, how do you appraise the recent government document which restricts cooperatives' activity in many sectors? Does it not seem to you that, having taken a step forward, we are then taking two or three steps back?

[Yeltsin] Perfectly correct. There have already been five or six resolutions adopted on cooperatives, and we simply cannot find a way out. We are lurching from one side to the other... Allow it!—Prohibit it! And the justification is: lack of experience... All very well if it were a matter of months. But we are talking about **years.** It is time to start accumulating experience and applying it.

[Ivanov] A question closely related to the same topic: The farmsteading system of land management is being gradually revived here in Estonia. Many peasants have already been presented with special land deeds confirming their inalienable right over a certain land parcel which they can bequeath. Some people are even inclined to perceive this as a return to private property. Briefly speaking, private ownership of the means of production and the legitimacy of its existence in our conditions are being discussed perfectly openly, and not just in the context of farmsteads. What would you say about this?

[Yeltsin] It seems to me that the main point of the farmsteading system—whether you call it private property, termless lease, or 999-year lease—is that it really gives people back their sense of being masters of their own land. To people and to their children.

Just look at the expression itself—"private property." ...You see, stereotypes are rather too strong in our country, and the majority perceive it as a return to capitalism, which is something altogether more terrifying. I would not use it. People's mentality must be taken into account. In my view, "long-term lease" or "termless lease" are more acceptable and less confusing word collocations, even though the meaning is the same in principle. But the form is certainly viable. It makes it possible **to get down to work with confidence.**

[Ivanov] Yes, but peasants in general and Estonian peasants in particular still remember situations when they were first given land for termless and free use, and this was later followed by numerous resolutions and instructions which, in actual fact, annulled all their rights over that land...

[Yeltsin] But this right of theirs must be CONSTITUTIONALLY enshrined, by means of a law.

[Ivanov] It is evidently necessary to also take into account the historical and other specific features of the country's various regions?

[Yeltsin] Absolutely. This is, after all, the root cause of our greatest mistake as regards the nationalities question. In other words, we believed for a long time that we had solved it—finally, irreversibly, once and for all times. This is why we paid it no attention at all—either from the viewpoint of science or an analysis of processes occurring in regions, national communities, and republics, or from the practical viewpoint. This is a very painful question. But this neglect by leaders who should have been dealing with it ultimately resulted in arrogance toward some nations, and at times even in insults against entire peoples. And this is, of course, simply impermissible!

[Ivanov] Just as a matter of dotting the "i's": What do you consider to be the primary element in our state's structure—the republics voluntarily united within the USSR but remaining, under the Constitution, sovereign states which only delegate part of their powers to the union government, or the union which grants (or does not grant) certain rights to the republics?

[Yeltsin] My opinion: The republics are primary. From the viewpoint of the very concept of democracy and democratization—any centralization always strives for bureaucratization and, therefore, tends to reduce the level of society's democratic nature.

This is why I believe that the opinion of **the people**, and therefore the opinion of a republic representing a given people, ought to be primary.

[Ivanov] In this context: How do you appraise the decisions made by the Estonian SSR Parliament in the last 3-4 months, beginning with the amendments to the Estonian SSR Constitution and the Declaration of Sovereignty, and ending with the Law on the Language?

[Yeltsin] On the whole, I would say that my attitude to them is one of calmness. I disagree with some of the positions taken in these documents but, in order to discuss this topic in detail, I need more information than I have at present and a better understanding of the local situation. This is why I have no intention of asserting that I am 100-percent correct in my doubts on certain points. Generally speaking, it is evident that the decisions by the republic's Supreme Soviet were conditioned by an objectively logical development of events, and therefore any appraisal of them ought to be approached with greater care.

[Ivanov] If you mean the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session about the 16 November session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, my feeling is that even though it produced some statements with which I, for example, disagree, that session was substantially different from the one which discussed Nagorno-Karabakh a few months earlier, and the difference was quite positive.

[Yeltsin] Yes, of course, there has been some positive progress. And I think that this was also due to the definite stance taken by your leaders at that session and their line of behavior in the prevailing situation.

[Ivanov] And what do you think of our situation today? Specifically about the People's Front and the International Movement?

[Yeltsin] On the strength of the information at my disposal, it seems to me that the People's Front has shifted somewhat in the direction of a **mono** national structure. This is what brought forth the International Movement as an alternative to the People's Front (I do not claim any accuracy of assessment and voice only my personal impression). In other words, this is the movement in which representatives of other nations and ethnic groups started seeking an opportunity to express their views, which they could not do on a mass scale through the People's Front. I will make no assessments of the International Movement's program provisions simply because I am not familiar with them. But the very fact that there has been a division into two movements is regrettable. There should be no divisions. This does not benefit the cause.

As for the actual emergence of the People's Front, I think that it was brought about by the existence of the one-party system under which—according to prevailing usage—there was a lack of debate within the party and generally at all levels of society. This led to a certain apathy within society. The awakening from this apathy, the galvanization of opinions even though they are at times alternatives to the party point of view, and the conduct of debates on the most important question—I perceive all this as a positive phenomenon. Generally speaking, I think that it is necessary to create an all-union people's front.

[Ivanov] By the way, such a front has been created also in Moscow. What is your attitude to its activity?

[Yeltsin] Unfortunately, it is not all that active. It may be under pressure, its aktiv members may not be sufficiently "charged," but the Moscow People's Front cannot be compared with the Estonian either in size, or in its degree of influence on social life, or in terms of the substance of its proposals. Let me repeat: This may not be their fault, they may be subject to too much outside "pressure." It may even be that they are lacking a group of leaders who could fittingly head this movement.

[Ivanov] Boris Nikolayevich, let us address the topic of the forthcoming elections. While I was waiting for you in the reception room, your aide told me a few things, showed me a thick folder with notifications of your nomination as candidate people's deputy and requests that you consent to stand for election in various electoral okrugs, and these letters have come from all corners of the country. Have you now accepted?

[Yeltsin] Not yet. (Let us specify that this interview took place on 1 February—V.I.) On the one hand, I have indeed been nominated as a candidate in many regions and in dozens of okrugs, both territorial and national-territorial. On the other hand, however, this campaign is not easy.

[Ivanov] For you personally?

[Yeltsin] Yes. There is quite unconcealed pressure from party organs. And, as if this were not enough, there is also counteragitation, which is impermissible under both the Constitution and the law: "Do not nominate Yeltsin!"

[Ivanov] But the current law authorizes agitation both FOR and AGAINST a candidate....

[Yeltsin] Yes, but **once he has been registered!** Nonetheless, representatives of party raykoms go to election campaign meetings where Yeltsin's candidacy is proposed and strive to change their course. Moreover, they have no facts or arguments against Yeltsin, and this is why the discussion is basically demagogical....

As a matter of fact today—literally just before your arrival—I was visited by men from TASS, and their appearance indicates (or so I guess, at least) that maybe the "taboo" will be lifted....

I said recently in an interview with MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI that if confidence is being expressed in me on such a scale (and we are talking about millions of voters during the nomination process), I certainly will not withhold my consent and will thus opt for people's trust rather than a minister's chair.

[Ivanov] Tell me, Boris Nikolayevich—believe me, this is not meant as flattery but is just a statement of fact—it could be said that today you have become a kind of living legend, at least for many people. How do you yourself feel about this? In other words, I am not talking about pleasure or displeasure. After all, your actual nomination as candidate for people's deputy is not simply in pursuit of sensationalism: People specifically substantiate their reasons....

[Yeltsin] I personally treat popularity (or whatever else you might like to call it) quite calmly. It is a different matter that here I perceive the following fact: **Truth is very important for people.** Especially after a lengthy period when they were fed on lies. We need the bare truth, the sharp truth, truth to the fullest possible extent of frankness.

[Ivanov] Boris Nikolayevich, you are nevertheless a politician, having spent most of your life in party work. Now, as decreed by the fates, you have been "thrown" into economic work. How do you feel here?

[Yeltsin] I do not like my present work. It is 80-percent paperwork, and I am used to working with people and for people, for people's sake, I am used to being right in the thick of people.

I still manage to meet people, but very few. Even though I receive a multiplicity of invitations to meetings. And even 95 percent of the visitors I receive are people who have nothing to do with construction work. They come from everywhere, and the interesting point is that very many of them are young people. Some ask for advice and, provided I feel competent to do so, I counsel and help them.

[Ivanov] But is this not detrimental to your present work? Such a multitude of visitors who have nothing to do with construction work....

[Yeltsin] I find a way out by extending my work day. While Gosstroy leadership cadres work, for example, between 0900 and 1930 or 2000 hours, I work from 0800 till 2200 or 2300. Last night, for example, I left at 2330....

[Ivanov] Indeed, in order to neutralize any possible accusations, you have to "cover your back...." By the way, the election campaign apart, do you still sense any invisible walls against which you occasionally stumble?

[Yeltsin] Well, here is an example. I am still a member of the Moscow party gorkom, where I spent 2 years as its first secretary (and I do not believe that I made a lot of political mistake in all that time) and did a lot of work—jointly with the Moscow Gorkom Bureau and the Moscow party organization... I'm a member of the CPSU Central Committee, a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and a USSR minister. And yet, not only was I not elected a delegate to the Moscow city report and election conference, I was not even invited to it....

[Ivanov] I realize that this may be no consolation to you, but still: Such an opposition against you today—when you have been removed from virtually all key posts in the party and the government—means that people still fear you, that you still represent a certain threat for some people.

[Yeltsin] But let me emphasize: **This is not a threat as a rival.** First and foremost we should clearly be talking about a threat that some people might have to give up their quiet life—either, so to speak, dive right in the thick of active work and struggle, including political struggle (which, I believe, is perfectly legitimate, and some people here try in vain to identify it with schemes by "enemies of the people"), or "get off the stage..."

Generally, however, political struggle is a customary and normal phenomenon in society which only goes to make it—society—healthier.

[Ivanov] And how do you define the term "political struggle"? Within what framework is it permissible?

[Yeltsin] Within quite a broad one. Here, for example, I mean also a struggle for the ecology and for social justice.

[Ivanov] In other words, it is rather a matter of competitive programs and their implementation?

[Yeltsin] Yes, perhaps that is so. At least, of course, not a struggle **for positions.** Such a struggle is impermissible even on the **personal** level. People must be judged by their actions. If you work well—you are doing fine. If not—what is preventing you? And so on....

[Ivanov] Every now and then you make a statement, be it before an audience or in the local press. Many people still recall your interview with the Riga youth newspaper.

But how does the apparatus react to these statements of yours? Is it altogether possible to talk about some faceless and inert mass which is dubbed the "apparatus"?

[Yeltsin] As regards my statements, they are published only by local press organs which are sufficiently independent of the center. My name has not been mentioned in the central press for 1 year now (apart from MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, which does not reach the mass readership—V.I.). As for the apparatus....

It certainly exists as a mechanism. Even though it is composed of separate individuals. Maybe some of its components would like to change a few things or slightly amend a few things, but the corporate interest always prevails.

[Ivanov] Do you believe that it is the apparatus which opposes you today?

[Yeltsin] First and foremost. It is, of course, certain individuals who direct and prompt the apparatus....

This is easy to explain. A fair proportion of cadres fear for their positions and privileges. Rather too many good things may be lost. By the way, I am being charged (and these accusations were also heard at the party conference) with supposedly advocating some faceless "leveling." But this is not so. I simply believe that only **wages** should be strictly differentiated, according to every person's contribution to society's cause. As for all the rest, bearing access to benefits in mind, let people be brought to the same level regardless of the office they hold—from top leaders down to workers and street cleaners. This, in my view, is one of the fundamental principles and ideals of socialism. But even this is lacking in our country. In other words, all that has been left of socialism is the public ownership of the means of production. And a plant worker neither senses nor understands this.

[Ivanov] In other words, "if it belongs to everybody it belongs to nobody...."

[Yeltsin] Exactly.

[Ivanov] About equal opportunities: Not so long ago one of the mass publications slipped in a report to the following effect: Having left the office of first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is complaining that his wife is now forced to go to the stores like everyone else... What is your real attitude to this?

[Yeltsin] First of all: Why "forced," since I took that step voluntarily?! On being transferred to this office, I refused coupons for products from "the Kremlin store." Soon after my arrival here, a staffer who is in charge of these coupons called on me right here, in this very office. I did not let him come further than two meters from the door. I told him: "Excuse me, I realize that you are not personally to blame, but I have no need of such privileges and want to hear no more about them henceforth. Tell those who sent you that I am struggling against such phenomena in principle, and don't ever bring them back again."

So my wife has not been forced, but simply does the rounds of stores, like every other Muscovite, to acquire everything we need. The main point is that she now has no questions about it. So, on the subject of my alleged **complaints**—false information.

[Ivanov] Boris Nikolayevich, will you absolutely insist on approving the text of this interview prior to publication?

[Yeltsin] If you deem it possible to give me a chance to approve it, I would be grateful. Generally speaking, I have perfect confidence in you and your newspaper.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: It is extremely hard to take on the role of a soothsayer in life in general and in politics in particular. But I personally feel that the "Yeltsin phenomenon" has still not been sufficiently studied and analyzed and that, at some stage of our society's development, we will be forced to come back to it. It cannot be ruled out that this will happen much earlier that people think.

Some people may find some ideas and opinions expressed in the interview with our newspaper arguable. Fair enough, you can either agree with them or dispute them—that is everybody's right. In any event, my interlocutor spoke about **his own beliefs** without ever claiming to be expressing the ultimate truth.

Something else is also possible: Some people might find that they have already heard or read Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's reflections—they might find them **familiar.** And yet, more often than not, people expect an outstanding and popular person who holds (held) an eminent position—this psychological effect is well known—to make paradoxical and "sensationalist" statements...

This is where we must get it clear in our minds: Are we after the "hot" stories, or do we want to know what this specific person **really** thinks and says.

Yeltsin Criticized for Missing Voters Meeting

PM0703103989 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 89 p 1

["Own Information" "Rejoinder": "Was the Rostrum Unsuitable?"]

[Text] About 400 workers of the "Soyuz" plant gathered 27 February in the hall of their club to meet with USSR Minister B.N. Yeltsin and "ZIL" association general

director Ye.A. Brakov, candidate USSR people's deputies for the Moscow City national-territorial okrug. But only one candidate—the enterprise leader—presented his platform to the voters. The minister declined to talk with the labor collective.

Plant party committee secretary A.F. Mironyuk explained to those assembled that the minister had given as his reason for declining to attend the meeting that he had not planned to talk to voters with his rival but wanted to meet with them on his own, he said. Nor did he satisfy the party committee's request that he personally explain to people the reason for his rejection of the meeting. Of course, this position on the part of one of the candidates caused disappointment in the hall. Some people left: After all, for many people the election campaign is particularly attractive by virtue of its high profile and open rivalry.

The ZIL general director agreed to address the audience alone, and the meeting took place. Ye.A. Brakov acquainted the plant workers with his platform, which is based on accelerating the development of the material and technical base of restructuring and the technical progress of production, on improving labor conditions, and on the fuller solution of social and ecological problems. This approach, the candidate said, is now being proposed on the scale of all Moscow. Despite the fact that the audience did not receive answers entirely to its satisfaction to all the 42 questions put, the auditorium applauded the candidate as he left.

Nonetheless, many of those present expressed their perplexity at the step taken by one of the candidates: Why, they asked, did the USSR minister treat the production worker voters so offhandedly? Or did the plant rostrum seem not high enough to him for a serious election discussion?

Candidate Belov Decries Decay of Moral Values

PM0703122189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Correspondent G. Sazonov report under the rubric "Candidate From the Party": "Vasiliy Belov: 'Do Not Fear Glasnost!'"]

[Text] Vologda—A meeting with candidate deputies from public organizations was recently held in Vologda. Programs were expounded by B. Gromov, a pensioner nominated by the veterans council; N. Saltykov, a construction workers' team leader nominated from the trade unions; V. Baskova, a milkmaid nominated from the women's councils; and the writer Vasiliy Ivanovich Belov, candidate from the party.

"Why did I not step down? Would it not have been better to give up my place to another?" the writer addressed his voters. "I thought about this for a long time and came to the conclusion that I should not decline. Having consented to run for the CPSU, I wish to defend our people's rights.

"I recall something that happened 30 years ago. On the eve of elections a tipsy photographer slapped his pocket and said: 'This is where all the deputies are....' He already had in his pocket photographs of the future deputies, although their election had not yet taken place. Comparing that fact with modern events, you can see how far we have come.

"If I am elected a USSR people's deputy I will act on the basis of what has happened to our country over the past 50 years. The ill-considered collectivization in the thirties inflicted serious losses not only on the peasantry but also on the entire Russian people. According to my information, Russians now make up less than half the country's population. Nevertheless, there are scientists who claim that Russians are particularly aggressive. They even dare to declare that there are medicines to treat this aggressiveness. I was simply indignant on hearing such a statement at a very representative conference.

"Unfortunately, all is not yet in order here with regard to glasnost. What do we know, for example, about our economy? Ministries and the Gosplan still do not come under the people's jurisdiction. They order the country about at their own sweet will. Take sales of timber, oil, and gas. We do not know what goes where. Departments operate in total secrecy.

"It is also a pity that the economy is now geared to aid from abroad. All have switched to foreign currency, and all want to instill order in the national economy with the help of Western equipment. I think this is wrong. We must create our own equipment and technology. Are we really worse than they are? By gearing ourselves to foreign technology—and we are frequently sold yesterday's technology—we risk being turned into a colony.

"Cooperative members from Ufa report in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY: 'We are prepared to sell abroad so much ecologically pure honey every year.' There already exist, it is terrible to say, cooperatives to sell human blood. All that is the very best, all that is most good—for the foreign market. What kind of an economy is this? In Moldavia I have seen tractors plow up a vast field, red with ripe fruits. At the same time we were importing tomatoes from Hungary. And now we are importing apples from Poland, while we leave our own to rot or feed them to pigs....

"I have great hopes of the upcoming Central Committee plenum on agriculture. I will express some of my own views on the revival of the countryside. In my view, we must reinstate in full the method of land use that

prevailed in V.I. Lenin's time: Economically strong farms must be fully freed from bureaucratic tutelage, while weak farms which have already been ruined must be let out on a long lease together with the land and fixed capital.

"Worthy lessees, who undertake this not under duress but of their own will, must be provided gratis with not only land but also old equipment. In the future there must be no intermediaries between the lessee and the state. It would not be a bad thing to create a credit bank where a peasant could take out a loan on preferential terms and buy new equipment.

"A few words about the mass media. Much is being done today to lull us in various ways and divert us from the chief point. Certain variety, television, and cinema figures are bending over backward to dull our young people's traditional sense of shame, their feeling for the motherland, and their bent for diligence. They have organized everything so as to deprive young people of the most deep-seated and basic moral values. The most active stupefaction is taking place, with the help of the theater and video clubs now , while demagogues assert that nothing must be banned. There must be freedom in everything, they say. Freedom or all-permissiveness? When freedom for some people means lack of freedom for others and future misfortunes for the country, it probably is not freedom but something else. Pop culture is now being actively propagandized in our country. Erotic output is in vogue, and things are reaching the point of pornography. I think this is terrible. More than 200,000 AIDS-infected babies were born in America in 1987. Is this calamity not associated with the moral state of society?

"There are quite a few forms of stupefaction in our reality. I now recall just one, the most widespread among us. All the world's scientists recognize that alcohol is a drug, but for some reason it is not considered a drug in our society. The struggle against evil is not being waged systematically...."

The program set forth by the writer was just the start of the meeting. It was followed by questions. V. Belov's answers to them took twice as long. Take these, for example.

[Question] Vasiliy Ivanovich, is the CPSU a vanguard today? If so, in what specifically?

[Answer] I believe it is. Restructuring was begun precisely by the party. Is not the very fact that it is possible to speak openly from this rostrum—anyone can come out and say what he thinks—a result of restructuring?

[Question] If you are elected and have to resolve the question of handing over power to the soviets, to which soviets would you like to hand it over if this were possible—those of 1905, 1917, or the present?

[Answer] I prefer to give power to the good present soviets. But this depends on us all: The people we elect to them will determine what the soviets are like. Choose worthy people who will defend your interests.

[Question] What, in your view, must be done to ensure that public opinion is definitely taken into account in the activities of organs of power and management?

[Answer] Glasnost is needed in everything. We must not fear glasnost! All groups of the population must have an opportunity to express themselves in the press and on television. We do not have this at present. The public does not yet have any lever for influencing power. However much I have spoken in the press and on television about departmental diktat, my words have been little heeded. We must all seek these levers together—I believe they exist in self-management and independence.

[Question] Did you get told off for your recent radio interview on Vologda skyscrapers?

[Answer] I do not know how a party member can get "told off." Criticism is criticism. If someone does not like it, let him come out and say so. If I told the truth, what kind of "telling off" can there be? No, times have changed here now.... [Belov ends]

Other candidate deputies also answered questions from those present. B. Gromov, V. Belov, N. Saltykov, and V. Baskova were mandated by the people of Vologda—to step up the protection and restoration of historical and cultural monuments, to struggle to ease women's working conditions, to defend the working person's rights with the trade unions' help, and others.

*** Burlatskiy Campaigns as Candidate People's Deputy**
WA18000584 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 8, 25 Feb-3 Mar 89 pp 2, 6-7

[Interview with F. Burlatskiy by N. Zyatkov: "Without a Parliament There Is No Real Democracy"; date, place not given]

[Text] F. Burlatskiy, among other candidates, advanced along the line of the Soviet Peace Fund, the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, and a number of other organizations. After meetings in Moscow, Leningrad, and other places with the aktivs of these organizations, our correspondent N. Zyatkov asked him to discuss the most crucial problems that are arising during the course of the pre-election struggle.

[Zyatkov] Fedor Mikhyalovich, what is the most difficult question you were asked as candidate for deputy?

[Burlatskiy] Perhaps this one: How do I envision our country's changeover to a democratic socialist society?

[Zyatkov] And how did you answer?

[Burlatskiy] In the economy this means changing state monopolies over to a basis of enterprises and associations competing freely among themselves with the joint stock form of ownership; the formation of a powerful cooperative (non-Mafia!) sector, especially in service and light industry; in agriculture—socialist farming and small cooperatives along with effectively operating kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The main thing now is to adopt the Law on Land which along with the Law on Rental will assign peasants to the land permanently in any form that is convenient for them and will provide for the sale of technical equipment, construction materials, and foreign technology to them. This is the key to the solution not only to the food problem, but also to other problems.

[Zyatkov] Tell us specifically how you envision this changeover and what are the political levers here?

[Burlatskiy] More concretely, this means that the departments must turn approximately 70 percent of their functions in the economy and no less than 90 percent of their functions in the area of culture over to civilian institutions: in plants, factories, and cooperatives—to the labor collectives, social organizations, family farms, universities, academies of sciences, schools, and people with individual labor (writers, painters, artists, and so forth). This is also the path to self-management. Then the regulator will be the consumer of the material and cultural values—everyone will be working according to his demands. Of the 18 million workers in state administration no less than 10 million, of they are good organizers, will find places for themselves in public spheres and will work more effectively there and with a greater feeling of personal satisfaction.

This does not mean a weakening of the center. On the contrary, the upper authorities will be able to concentrate more effectively on solving the major strategic problems of domestic and foreign policy.

[Zyatkov] You are a lawyer by education and one of the founders of our political science as well as the author of many books on Soviet and Western political systems. So what do you see as the main condition for a radical change in our political system?

[Burlatskiy] The main problem that is now being resolved during the course of the elections and will be resolved at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies is: will we indeed have a new political institution—a Soviet parliament in the USSR Supreme Soviet. The fate of all democratization in our country depends on this, for all experience of mankind and the experience of the 70 years of existence of the Soviet state has shown that without a parliament there can be no real democracy. In other words the USSR Supreme Soviet should take over all legislative authority and real control over finances, the formation of the government, and its functioning.

[Zyatkov] In the West the parliament, as a rule, consists of people who have a legal or political education. This is probably an extreme, the more so since in our country questions of economics, culture, social security, and so forth occupy such an immense place in the activity of agencies of authority. But it is of essential importance for our parliament to have social and political activists who are prepared for this new role in our practice. A number of laws that have already been adopted in the area of economics remind one more of departmental instructions: long, confusing, and ambiguous...

[Burlatskiy] No, the departmental principle for preparing laws during the period of restructuring has not justified itself; the new political design being formulated by the party and its leadership is swallowed up in it. A law should be brief, simple, and accessible to each citizen and not just the official, and it is necessary to clearly define the new norm and establish responsibility and sanctions for the failure to fulfill it. The deputies themselves should prepare them, enlisting scholars for expert advice.

In my view, the main danger that has now arisen because of the excessive heat of passions and a certain confusion of judgments consists in the compromise decisions. These decisions seem tempting at first glance since each transformation requires time, has its own stages, and requires a preparation of attitudes, and not only "above" but also "below." But compromise decisions, as a rule, are ineffective. They can cast a shadow on the very idea and compromise it even before the results are known.

And another thing: On the surface social movements can sometimes turn out to be Repetilovs ("We are making noise, brother, we are making noise") and Nozdrevs. But this "childhood disease" of pluralism soon passes, the excitement declines, and then in the remains one discover the crystals of concrete ideas—about what to do in order to bring our economy out of the crisis and our people out of the unseemly condition of not having enough food and other commodities and many social groups out of the condition of poverty.

[Zyatkov] What role can be played by the principle of pluralism during the formation and in the work of the Soviet parliament? In general is pluralism possible under the conditions of a one-party system, or is this an illusion, as they think it is in the West?

[Burlatskiy] The USSR Supreme Soviet is called upon to become the central political institution where there is a convergence of all trends, opinions, and alternative programs that embody socialist pluralism. This is what explains the policy for elections to this agency—from the party, from the social organizations, and from the regions.

The USSR Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies will have to accumulate new experience in real pluralism under the conditions of a one-party system, a

multitude of opinions within the party itself, and integration of interests represented by various social, cultural, and national groups and trends. It will be necessary to develop a procedure which will give freedom of expression for all opinions and at the same time will not impede the adoption of decisions, will rely on the will of the majority and take into account the interests and positions of the minority, especially when it comes to numerically small nations.

It will be necessary to resolve one of the key issues of the procedure of parliamentary debates—making sure that they are polite and constructive in nature. Glasnost has played a historic role; it has become a mirror of our society, its past, its achievements and problems, and its position in the modern world. But there has also appeared an extremely dangerous tendency which, in my opinion, can become a throwback to the Stalinist spirit: impatience, malice, and the inability to listen to and understand the opponent. From here it is not far to accusing him of being an "enemy" and placing him up against the wall....

It is necessary to perceive the best conquests of glasnost and with a firm procedure prevent its negativism in the USSR Supreme Soviet. Then it will be a true expression of public opinion and not a place for idle talk, against which even Lenin warned.

[Zyatkov] We began with the most difficult question, but what was the easiest one asked of you?

[Burlatskiy] Perhaps this one: what were you doing before 1985? What views did you proclaim at that time? At that time did you not make a career like many who now are shouting louder than the others about restructuring?

It was not difficult for me to answer that question although it touches on some sad pages of my life. Perhaps this question was partially inspired by my article in NOVYY MIR (No 10 for 1988) entitled "After Stalin." Since it is not yet completed certain readers have gotten the impression that during the period of stagnation I continued to perform in the role of "speech writer" for Brezhnev. But everything was quite the opposite. After the October CPSU CC Plenum I raised the question of being released from my post as head of the group of consultants of the division of the CPSU CC that was led by Yu. V. Andropov. The reason was that we were forced to write things that were directly opposed to what we had written before—to cross out the accomplishments of the 20th and 22d CPSU Congresses, to restore the spirit of Stalinism, to place reliance on confrontation and the class struggle in the international arena instead of peaceful coexistence and disarmament, and so forth. In February of 1965 I was transferred to work for PRAVDA as a political observer. They did not forgive me for this step, the more so since I continued to criticize the adventuristic regimes in my work. And then, on Brezhnev's direct instructions, in the summer of 1967 my co-author and I were fired from PRAVDA for publishing in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA an article entitled "On the Path to the Premier" which criticized the policy in the area of culture. But that is not all. Academician A. M. Rumyantsev with my assistance (I was one of the deputy directors) created the Institute of Concrete Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. We began to seriously study our social and political problems. But on instructions from Brezhnev's closest associate, S. P. Trapeznikov, I was again fired along with 120 sociologists and political scientists. Nonetheless I continued to publish books and articles criticizing the authoritarianism and arguing for reforms: "Lenin. The State. Politics," "Mao Tsetung," "The Riddle and the Lesson of Nicolo Machiavelli," "The Interregnum" and others.

[Zyatkov] Since you brought up the publication in NOVYY MIR, let me ask you a question that is frequently asked in letters from readers: did you not rate too highly the role and personality of Yu. V. Andropov? After all, he probably participated in many of the decisions of the period of stagnation.

[Burlatskiy] I shall answer briefly, although this subject deserves in-depth consideration. I tried to portray Yu. V. Andropov the way we saw him during the sixties under Khrushchev. At that time he consistently expressed the ideas of the 20th Party Congress. Moreover, I tried to convey my personal feelings of that period when I, a quite young man, was working under his leadership. Unfortunately, I had no occasion to meet with Andropov for more than 10 years after that, right up until his return to the CPSU CC, since he was very dissatisfied with my abrupt departure from the department, although subsequently, it seems to me, he respected the basic reasons for my choice.

One can assume, of course, that Yu. V. Andropov was experiencing the influence of the age of stagnation since he participated in many of the most important decisions of the time. On the other hand, history did not give him a chance to fully determine his program when he was elected General Secretary of the CPSU CC. But his first steps were undoubtedly positive. What his concrete position was—the person who tried to compensate for incorrect steps or to contribute to their implementation—this will have to be the subject of a careful investigation. If circumstances allow, I hope to do this some day.

Burlatskiy Foresees End of CPSU's Leading Role

AU0303163589 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 3 Mar 89 p 7

[Robert Misik report: "Trotskiy will be rehabilitated soon"]

[Excerpts] "Never in history has pluralism been associated with a one-party system." The man who says this is neither a dissident nor an emigrant. Fedor Burlatskiy is

chairman of the official CSCE Committee and accompanied Gorbachev to all summit meetings with U.S. President Reagan. [passage omitted]

"Socialist ideology never prescribed a one-party system. It just happened in our history. There are experiments that we are watching with considerable interest—in Hungary, for instance. However, what would happen, if we were to admit several parties now?" Burlatskiy asks himself and his audience in the Renner Institute. "At first, nationalist parties will be founded, with maybe 10 or 15 million members. What we need now is democratic parliamentarism and complete pluralism within the party. But the next step could already be in the direction of a multiparty system."

Burlatskiy says that such pluralism within the party also includes the reintroduction of the right to form groups, which was suspended in 1921: "Although I do not know what to call it, there must be the right to form groups within the party."

Burlatskiy says that big leaps have been made on the road to the pluralist society. "Today they can publicly discuss Bukharin and Trotskiy in the Soviet Union." The argument is, however, that Bukharin was rehabilitated long ago, but not Trotskiy. Burlatskiy believes that this is attributable to the entirely distorted picture of Trotskiy, which has determined Soviet historical science for decades, as well as to Trotskiy's role as a "leftist Communist," whereas Bukharin is now quoted as a "rightist Communist."

"However, despite all these difficulties, I am convinced that Trotskiy's role during the revolution will be truthfully recognized very soon, and he will be fully rehabilitated in the juridical sense." Everything seems to become possible in the Soviet Union today, if we can believe Burlatskiy's enthusiasm. He demands, for instance, that "all archives be opened, both those of the Politburo and those of the GPU [State Political Directorate]."

Answering a question from among the audience as to what would be left of the party's leadership role with all this pluralism, Burlatskiy says: "I do not think that the party will retain its leading role. Such a thing just is not conceivable in a pluralist society."

Razumovskiy Meets Kazakh Voters in Alma-Ata
PM0603152189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "To Be Equal to the Tasks of Restructuring"]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 4 Mar—Now that restructuring has emerged onto the wide expanses of the practical realization of the party's revolutionary plans, we must strive to increase the return on creative work and accelerate the implementation of the program for the renewal of socialism. This was stated at a meeting held in Alma-Ata today between the republic party aktiv and G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU.

G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, opened the meeting. The speakers at the meeting—K.Kh. Tyulebekov, first secretary of Alma-Ata party obkom; L.N. Kamkina, weaver at Alma-Ata Cotton Combine; A.K. Koshanov, director of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics; Ye.P. Mochalkin, first secretary of Alma-Ata's Auezovskiy party raykom; K.K. Isayeva, student at Alma-Ata State Medical Institute; and M.I. Isinaliyev, Kazakh SSR minister of foreign affairs—pointed out that restructuring has ushered in the creation of a healthy atmosphere of genuine democracy and glasnost, of the consistent resolution of the problems that have accumulated, and of the further harmonization of interethnic relations.

G.P. Razumovskiy addressed the gathering. He pointed out that the election campaign to elect deputies to the supreme organs of Soviet power—a campaign organized in a new, democratic way—creates good preconditions for progress in restructuring and reconstructing society's political system, and in developing the people's social activeness. Everything of concern to society and on which the attention of the party and the people is focused, all questions of politics and of Communists' organizational and ideological work—all this, to use V.I. Lenin's words, must now find and is finding "direct practical application in the special sphere of 'elective' activity."

Approaching the elections, the party has deemed it necessary to sum up the first years of restructuring and to submit the main areas of its policy for the immediate future for public examination. They are set forth in the CPSU Central Committee Appeal "To the Party and the Soviet People." Discussion of the CPSU election platform has assumed a very broad and constructive nature. Party organizations and many Communists have joined in this cause of the whole party and the whole people actively and with high responsibility. The meetings taking place throughout the country between candidate USSR people's deputies from the CPSU and the party aktiv, the public, and labor collectives are a constituent part of this great work.

April's great cause will very soon enter its fourth spring. This is not such a short time, if you consider the crucial nature of the moment. For a ruling party, such as the CPSU is—for a party that is conscious of its duty and its historic purpose, it is more than natural to ask the question: What has been done during this time? And, of course, to answer it honestly. If we look without prejudice at what has been done, we should recognize that during the period since that April, as the CPSU Central Committee's January appeal stated, a steep turn in the country's life has become a reality—a turn away from

stagnation in the economy, in politics, and in the spiritual sphere toward the revival and liberation of healthy forces, and toward the renewal of the social idea itself, freed from callous dogmas, and recapturing the revolutionary Leninist substance.

The reality of restructuring means an increasingly strong striving by the country, society, and the people toward new heights, toward socialism's humane aspect. The concept and policy of restructuring elaborated by the party, which is dynamically being renewed, which proceeds from the priority of the interests of the whole people, and which is based on truly socialist values, is the core and the concentrated expression of this striving. The reality of restructuring means transformations gaining scope in the economy; it means the social thrust of national economic development, which is persistently being asserted, and its orientation toward meeting the Soviet people's vitally important needs. It means reform of the political system; the comprehensive democratization of social life; the revival of the soviets' sovereignty; the broadening of glasnost; the unprecedented activation of spiritual life; socialist pluralism of opinions and views; and a new moral atmosphere in society. It means the enterprising and constructive foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, which enshrines colossal potential for peace and international cooperation. It means a party renewing itself and freeing itself from deformation and the accretions of the past.

The changes in the life of the country are manifested in the economy and culture, and in the political and ideological life of Soviet Kazakhstan. Restructuring has stirred the republic's working people, roused Communists and nonparty people from stagnant apathy, and turned them toward what is new. Positive changes in the economy and in the social sphere have become apparent from a number of positions. Much is being done to remove tension over certain once chronically neglected social questions: the food supply, medical services, housing.

Restructuring is increasingly beginning to work on its own base—intellectual, moral, and organizational-political. However, the reassuring steps of transformations do not give the slightest grounds for complacency. We are now moving into a new stage of restructuring. The achievement of practical results and specific progress in every work sector is becoming the chief criterion. The efforts of the CPSU Central Committee and of members of the party's collective leadership are aimed at ensuring the businesslike, constructive, consistent, and systematic nature of this work.

The transition from one stage of the capital restructuring of our common socialist home to another is not without difficulty. Understandably so, because the burden of the deformations which had arisen in all spheres of society's vital activity is too great, the trammels of theoretical dogmas which only yesterday seemed immutable are too strong, and the inertia of old approaches is too great in the practical resolution of new tasks.

The party pursues a policy of the coordinated resolution of the tasks facing our society, without sudden movements or impulsive actions. This applies to all our work. The realization of the reform of the political system is now in full swing.

The democratization of public life, the reform of the political system, and radical changes in the economic sphere are opening up good opportunities for the harmonization of relations among peoples and republics and people of all nationalities. To take full advantage of these opportunities and draw up a well thought-out action program meeting the aspirations of all nations and of the Soviet people as a whole—this, it may be said, is the essence of the persistent work on continuing the Leninist nationalities policy under modern conditions, which the party is now doing in very close contact with the public while preparing for the Central Committee plenum on questions of interethnic relations.

In order to get through the next, very strenuous period without distressing interruptions, it is important to conduct all restructuring affairs—large and small—with constant reliance on the people, and with their very direct participation. Restructuring will be successful only to the degree that every Soviet person becomes an active and interested participant in it. To work hand in hand, to lead the same life and have the same thoughts as the people, to strengthen unity of word and deed—this is the key demand of the moment for the party, and the political guideline at the second stage of restructuring. Under these conditions questions of Communists' organizational and ideological activity and of the party's fulfillment of the function of the leader of society assume special, vital practical significance.

Being the people's political vanguard, the party remains and will continue to be an inalienable part of them, absorbing their best representatives into its ranks. Being such a vanguard in practice means being the most enterprising, most bold- and most sober-minded, and most organized section of society. Certainly not some cliquishly closed, hierarchically structured organization which issues directives and "sends them down" from on high.

Restructuring needs a strong party. Strong in its theoretical, intellectual, political, organizational, and moral potential. Without the vigorous activity of a party capable of scientifically interpreting new social processes and formulating a correct policy, without the organized and organizing actions of party committees at all levels, without competent cadres devoted to the cause—without all this it is impossible to see through to a victorious concluding work designed to ensure that socialism attains a new qualitative state. The chief feature of the historic time in which we are now living, as the resolution of the 19th party conference emphasized, consists in

ensuring that the CPSU lives up fully to the Leninist concept of the party's leading role in society, in terms of not only the substance but also the methods of its activity.

Having begun restructuring with itself, the party has done much to modify the forms of its organization and work methods in accordance with the special features of the launch stage of restructuring. But at the same time it has come to light that far from every party organization, and far from all party committees, are fully aware of the inevitability of changing forms. In the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Commission on Questions of Party Building and Cadre Policy, we can well see that the breaking of the former conservative way of internal party life and the restructuring of thinking in party ranks are still proceeding only slowly.

It is natural that, during the reports and elections which lasted almost 6 months, the question of overcoming bureaucratic administration and organizing party committees' new relationships with soviet and economic organs and with working people's mass associations, including the self-motivating bodies, was raised more acutely than ever before in the CPSU.

The question of delimiting the functions of the party and the soviets is of special significance at present, G.P. Razumovskiy pointed out. This is not only a question of the technology of party and soviet work. Resolving it in practice means taking a step in the development of our political system. Unfortunately, it has to be admitted that frequently the matter gets no further than phrases about a change of functions or regard for new demands. In a number of places the soviets still do not display readiness to assume responsibilities in full, or to resolve questions which they and they alone must resolve today. Is this not why, with the changing structure of the party apparatus, economic questions are frequently entrusted to the organizational departments of raykoms and gorkoms?

Verbal promises and mere assurances of determination to improve work and to show constant concern for people are out of line with the professional efficiency which is so exceptionally in demand under restructuring. Formalism, unsystematic campaigns, and lack of concern about monitoring and verifying the execution of one's own decisions and programs are not what is required. It is not enough to condemn bureaucracy; it is also necessary in every organization to be able to organize work practically and to display the initiative and "local gumption" which Lenin valued so highly, without waiting, as still happens, for directives and instructions from "the center." Only by acting in this way is it possible, despite all the difficulties, to make appreciable progress in improving the socioeconomic situation in the region. The practice of many party organizations in the country, and in the republic, too, makes it possible to talk with confidence in these terms. Success comes where the areas, methods, and forms of party work are invariably determined by what is customarily called the "human dimension."

Unity of organizational and ideological work is a decisive condition of the effectiveness of the political approach. Less than ever before can ideological work now be isolated and divorced from organizational work. It is intertwined, as it were, with all our practical activity. The influence of party committees on people's convictions and sentiments and on enhancing the masses' activeness is the key to achieving results in resolving both production and social questions.

Far from everywhere does the renewal of the substance and methods of political educational work keep pace with life. A section of working people becomes flustered in unexpected turns of events. Relations between party committees and the mass media do not always take shape in a constructive and mutually useful way. There is no need to demonstrate that, where party organizations lag behind the activeness of the masses, a breach is revealed through which glib politicians and demagogues frequently force their way. Speculating on difficulties and contradictions, they endeavor to make political capital without bothering to formulate a constructive action program.

The party's vanguard role cannot be enhanced in practice without bringing complex, responsible, and exceptionally delicate and fine cadre work up to modern standards. Leninist requirements with regard to selecting and placing cadres and instructing and training them can be realized in full in the present situation only on one condition: Cadre policy must be implemented within the framework of a democratic process. A step has been taken toward this goal set by the CPSU Central Committee during the reports and elections.

A big renewal of the cadre corps of party workers has taken place. Meeting participants, conference delegates, and those whom they represented quite definitely advocated that party organs and organizations be headed by people who think in a bold and nonstandard way, who respect the opinion and experience of comrades, and who are able to achieve real results in what they do. Detailed consultations with Communists and nonparty people when selecting candidacies proposed for election have proved to be an efficient means of revealing and taking account of multiple candidacies already at the stage of preparations for electing a leader, as well as a real guarantee against cadre mistakes.

The report and election campaign helped reveal more clearly the most typical errors in cadre policy, and reserves for improving it. Communists spoke about broadening the base for the selection of cadres, improving the democratic procedures which determine their nomination and election, forming reserves, and improving the whole business of instructing cadres in political

methods of leadership. The corresponding structural links of party organizations and the organs of their collective leadership are to play an organizing and directing role in restructuring cadre policy.

The vanguard role of party organizations in restructuring can be directly linked with the energy, civic courage, and political maturity of every individual Communist. Against a background of growing social activeness the face of every party member is more and more clearly exposed, and higher demands are being made on each of them. The Communist's vanguard role is asserted not by repeating truisms from a rostrum but through specific actions and real party-mindedness in everything—in words, in action, in every manifestation of his personality. All this is particularly important for party activists.

Now that collective decisions have been formulated, primary party organizations carry the burden of fulfilling them. They operate in the labor collectives—the basic component of renewal—where the fate of restructuring is largely decided. The chief thing for primary party organizations is to be equal to present-day demands and know how to put the ideas of renewal into practice.

In conclusion the CPSU Central Committee secretary dwelt on the progress of the election campaign to elect USSR people's deputies, evaluating it as an important milestone in the development of our political system. This act of expressing the people's will is undoubtedly going to have far-reaching consequences for all spheres of society's life and activity. We have to advance still further the process of socialism's all-around renewal, broaden and deepen it, and make it irreversible. And for this we must work, we must do a lot of skillful, enterprising, and responsible work. In very diverse combinations the word "work," which imposes a great obligation, is becoming a key word in the political vocabulary of restructuring.

During 2-4 March G.P. Razumovskiy familiarized himself with various aspects of life in the republic.

On the "Taugul" Sovkhoz the CPSU Central Committee secretary chatted with farm leaders and workers and asked them about their working and living conditions, the development of production and the sociocultural sphere, and the organization of mutually advantageous economic ties with city enterprises.

G.P. Razumovskiy also visited the "Kamenskiy" Livestock Breeding Center. He had a discussion with the stockmen about introducing the lease contract, enhancing the farm's profitability, and improving their own work and everyday lives.

At the Kazakh Machine-Testing Station innovations in agricultural equipment and new technological solutions were shown. The practice of farm construction of housing, with its subsequent sale to the station workers, aroused great interest.

During a businesslike exchange of opinions with leaders, specialists, and secretaries of farms' party organizations, G.P. Razumovskiy drew attention to urgent problems of party building, cadre policy, and the practice of restructuring. It was pointed out that it is important now to generalize and disseminate the experience of organizational and mass political work which party organizations are acquiring during the election campaign. The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited the "Kzyl-Tu" Production Association. The need to enhance the quality and extend the range of consumer goods, and to introduce new forms of economic relations, was emphasized in conversation with workers and specialists.

G.P. Razumovskiy was shown around the republic Medical Diagnostic Center and the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Geology.

The deepening of cooperation between science and production was one of the chief topics of an interested discussion during a meeting with scientists of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences. It was emphasized that the economy's development prospects demand the considerable acceleration of the process of introducing the achievements of scientific and technical progress into management practice.

The Central Committee secretary visited Alma-Ata's Central Kolkhoz Market and stores, and chatted with city residents.

G.P. Razumovskiy had a meeting with members and candidate members of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, first secretaries of the republic's party obkoms, and chiefs of Central Committee departments.

G.P. Razumovskiy was accompanied on his tour by G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

Candidate Tours Alma-Ata Farms

LD0303234489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Razumovskiy is in Alma-Ata. Here is a report by our correspondents.

[V. Glukhovtsev, identified by caption] Spring has come to Semirechye with frosts and snowfalls. However, here at the (?Taugul) Hothouse Farm there is luxuriant greenery. It will soon be 8 March and the mass picking of flowers is under way in the hothouses. The farm is also engaged in growing select potato seeds by one of the most up-to-date meristematic methods. Georgiy Petrovich Razumovskiy, who visited this farm today, was told about the prospects for the new method and about the

possibilities for its widespread use in agricultural production. [video shows picking of flowers in hothouse and then Razumovskiy talking with a group at farm]

This is Kamenskiy Sovkhoz in Kaskelen Rayon, one of the largest dairy farms in Semirechye. According to last year's results, an average milk yield per specially fed cow of over 5,000 liters was obtained. The yield from the record-breaking cow was between 7,000 and 8,000 liters. The sovkhoz has amassed very instructive experience. Has it become the common property of Alma-Ata Oblast and of Kazuakhstan as a whole? Regrettably, this has not yet happened. Most of the republic's farms have low results in dairy livestock farming. The reason for this phenomenon is the subject of the conversation of the CPSU Central Committee secretary with milkmaids and specialists at Kamenskiy Sovkhoz.

The conversation touched upon another sore problem. The milkmaids at the sovkhoz went over to the leasing system of relations, but it emerged that with increased productivity from the animals the earnings of the milkmaids went down. The reason for this paradox lies in the fact that the Ministry of Grain Products doubled the price of mixed feed. [video shows dairy cows in their stalls, Razumovskiy touring farm, Razumovskiy talking with milkmaid]

Here we have another get-together. At the Kazakh machine-testing station Georgiy Petrovich acquainted himself with a new method for modular house construction. Houses made from these structures are considerably cheaper and they can be built quickly. But a proving site plant is needed for the manufacture of fully finished modules. There is no such plant as yet. Georgiy Petrovich acquainted himself also with new equipment for the preparation of food and the results of its testing. [video shows Razumovskiy touring site, talking with officials, house, and Razumovsky viewing feed equipment]

Politburo Commission Discusses Armenian Situation

LD0403174989 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Yerevan March 4 TASS—Matters concerning a considerable increase in the production of local building materials and an improvement of their quality were discussed at a regular working meeting of the Armenian earthquake relief commission of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee here on Saturday. The meeting was presided over by Lev Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The commission drew the attention of a number of Armenian republican departments to the need for more efficient cooperation in the efforts to provide local building industry enterprises with all essentials for a steady and intense work.

The Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR was directed to take measures to improve working conditions as soon as possible to provide workers with housing, and to ensure every-day services.

The commission discussed an item concerning a new site for the Spitak elevator building plant which had been flattened by the earthquake. Seismologists drew the conclusion that the rebuilding of the plant at the previous site was impossible owing to insufficient seismic reliability. Therefore the plant will be built on the site of another factory the construction of which was considered inadvisable.

The commission instructed the Spitak District Executive Committee and the management of the future plant widely to acquaint the public of the city with the reasons for the decisions taken as well as with employment plans.

Armenian Council's Deputy Chairman Replaced

NC0603095589 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Yerevan, 1 Mar, ARMENPRES—Grayr Oganesyan has been appointed the deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic's state committee for construction affairs by a decision of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He replaces Vardges Ardzrouni, who has been relieved of his post in order to transfer to another position.

Grayr Avedisovich Oganesyan was born in 1931 in Ovuni Village in Akhuryanskiy Rayon. He is an Armenian. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1960 and graduated from Yerevan's K. Marx Politechnical institute. By profession he is an engineer, hydroengineer, and builder and is an honorary engineer of the Armenian SSR.

From 1954 to 1962 he worked as senior technician, engineer, senior engineer, head of work team, and head of a unit at "volgogradhydrostroys" [Volgograd hydropower construction]. The unit received the Lenin award. From 1962 to 64 he was senior drafting engineer and head of the Volzhskiy branch of the "Orgenergostroy" all-union institute in Volzhkiy City.

From 1964 to 1968 he worked in the Arab Republic of Egypt as the chief of the technical administration constructing the hydrocomplex of the high Aswan dam and as the chief Soviet expert hydroengineer.

From 1968 to 1985 he was deputy chief, chief engineer, and supervisor at the Transcaucasian specialized administration of the all-union "Hydrospekstroys" unit attached to the USSR power and electrification ministry.

In 1985 he became head of the "Hayhydroenergoshin" [Armenian hydro-power construction]. Later, he worked as head of the production, construction and assembly unit of the "Hayhydroenergoshin" attached to the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification.

He has been decorated with "red banner of labor" and "honorary" badge, acolades, and with the Egyptian Arab Republic's "service" and "Nile" medals.

Yerevan Rabble-Rousing Attempts Lead to Arrests
PM0603125189 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 21 Feb 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the Armenian SSR MVD"]

[Text] Many cases have been recorded of late of individuals trying to inflame passions over problems that worry refugees from Azerbaijan. Exploiting the natural difficulties experienced by this category of people and the problems arising in the solution of their problems, they urge refugees to take ill-considered actions, hold unauthorized rallies and processions, and blockade government buildings and other establishments. Taking advantage of the refugees' lack of information and inadequate knowledge of the events taking place in the republic, they press nationalist-tinged slogans upon them.

An attempt by a group of people to provoke refugees into holding an illegal assembly and procession was averted at the "Detskiy Mir" store by the efforts of militia on 19 February. Some of those who had gathered tried to organize disobedience to the militia's lawful demands. The law-enforcement agencies decisively cut short this breach of public order. The most active instigators were arrested under administrative law. These included Georgiy Rudolfovich Tangiyan, born 1963, a student of the Yerevan State University Faculty of Languages and Literature Evening Department, engaged as a script writer at the Palace of Youth, who, in the fall of 1988, was fined R50 by the Sovetskiy Rayon People's Court for organizing an illegal procession.

The Armenian SSR MVD expresses the hope that citizens will support the law-enforcement agencies' efforts and give a fitting rebuff to people who try to provoke breaches of public order or destabilize the situation in the city.

*** Decommissioning of Armenian Reactor Units Continues**
WA18220048 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by Lt Col O. Falichev: "Reactor—On 'Stop!'"

[Text] **The command to halt the first energy block at the Armyanskaya Atomic Electric Energy Station will be heard on 25 February. The second will be halted on 18 March of this year. This decision of the USSR Council of Ministers was greeted by all residents of the republic with gratitude and understanding. But difficult new problems are now coming to the fore in connection with the curtailment of the operation of the AES.**

A broad highway leads from Yerevan in the direction of Oktemberyan. After about 25 kilometers you begin to see thrusting upward the immense concrete reservoirs for cooling water. The steam rises over them like clouds of smoke. And the monolithic structures of the AES itself look like a large plant. And only the strict control through the security gate reminds you that you are in a classified area.

Atomic stations... are the brainchild of the 20th century. Light and heat, our pain and concern... How did it happen that, having split the atom and released its force, we suddenly ended up in the position of a person who puts gin into bottles? I am thinking about forthcoming—let us be frank—unprecedented event. At the demand of the people we are closing an entire atomic electric power station that has cost the country billions of rubles. It is a humanitarian and human act. But if one looks at it from the other side, it is the correction of somebody's mistake. How and why could this have happened? The halting of the AES is an occasion for thinking about this once again.

The Armyanskaya AES was among the first to begin to be constructed in the country in 1969. At that time atomic energy was one of the ultramodern areas, a kind of panacea for solving all energy problems. It is difficult to judge now, but the builders and planners proceeded from and were thinking about mainly how to give the republic and the country an increase in electric energy as quickly and as inexpensively as possible. This was achieved. The Armyanskaya AES alone, for example, produced almost one-third of all the electric energy produced in Armenia. At the time when it was being built only one factor was not completely taken into account: the likelihood of earthquakes in the area. What this meant became especially clear after the destructive earthquake in Armenia.

There is no doubt that the community that sounded the alarm played a large role. But an important word, as it were, an expert evaluation, was left up to specialists. Here is the opinion of the deputy chief of the energy and fuel department of the Armenian SSR Gosplan, A. Kavaryan: "For more than 2 years the existing subdivisions of the USSR Ministry of Atomic Power has been working on a plan for the reconstruction of the Armyanskaya AES. But because of a number of objective factors, the planners have not found a solution to problems related to providing for reliable work safety..."

Even the reader must get the impression that this AES was marked a long time ago in this respect. Especially after Chernobyl. A large amount of work was done here taking into account the requirements for earthquake resistance and increased accident safety. Additional systems were installed for industrial water supply, sound

emission control of the pipe lines, and the condition of the welded seams... All this significantly increased the reliability and safety of the AES.

"The discharges from the station into the air were less than the allowable norms by a factor of 200," announced the party organizer of the CPSU CC at the AES, Vartan Nikolayevich Saakyan. "The radiation background on the premises of the station and beyond is normal."

The leader did not take a narrow departmental position. He was apparently in favor of closing down the station. But not because of its ecological harmfulness. With normal operation, as the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] has shown, an AES is ecologically cleaner than any heating plant. From conversations with workers and specialists I understood that they were all quite calm about what was about to happen. Although considerable problems are arising. These include finding jobs for the people and solving social problems. For example, the construction of housing in the village and social, cultural, and domestic facilities was in full swing, for which 42 million rubles had been allotted. Now it is as though this money is suspended in air: the AES management does not have the right to dispose of it. And it is simple to let go of personnel. It will be more difficult to bring them back together again. For the AES is to be reprofiled into a thermal electric power station using gas.

"We will need about 80 percent of the personnel," Says Vartan Nikolayevich. "The rest we shall retrain and transfer to other AES's. Incidentally, there are also those who have expressed a desire to invest their labor in restoring cities that were destroyed by the earthquake. They include the machine operator V. Galstyan along with his brigade, the communications expert T. Mnatsakanyan, and others."

All these are important problems but perhaps not the most difficult to resolve. The Armyanskaya AES produced 5.5 billion kilowatt-hours. Halting its operation will cause considerable difficulties in covering the consumption of electric energy by the republic economy. In March the shortage of capacities will amount to 300,000 kilowatts, and by the end of the year—700,000 kilowatts. Speaking at the Plenum of the Armenian CPSU CC on 17 January of this year, the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N. I. Ryzhkov emphasized: "Of course we cannot short change Armenia and other Transcaucasian republics. Therefore a decision has been made to allot large amounts of material and financial resources to provide for the startup of new energy capacities and electricity network facilities. But all this will take time, and the situation will be extremely difficult in the next 2 years."

Economizing on electric energy will require a whole complex of measures. What kind? It will be necessary to change the enterprises and organizations over to a 7-day work week with variable shifts and days off. It is intended to expedite the expansion of the Razdanskaya GRES and conduct technical retooling of existing electricity capacities. Specialists are even talking about the possibility of such extreme measures rotating brown outs and rescheduling days off throughout the Transcaucasian region. What is the situation in the republic today with respect to economical expenditure of electric energy? Is the population prepared to observe the conditions for economizing?

According to data of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, for example, for individual kinds of products in the republic they have abolished the norms for the expenditure of electric energy that are higher than the average for the Union. The situation is no better in the sphere of communal services.

We set out in the direction of the block panel for control of the first energy block in order to see how its shut-down was proceeding. On an immense panel that covers the whole wall, the eye is struck by a red tableau with pulsating electronic figures—405 megawatts. That is how much electric energy the block is now producing. On 25 February, according to the schedule, the people who will come on duty will be the AES shift chief, V. Mkrtchyan, the shift chief of the reactor shop, M. Arustakya, the shift chief of the turbine shop, A. Papayan, and the operators M. Martirosyan and A. Melkumov. When they give the command, with a turn of the key the load will be removed from the generator and the steam will no longer be fed in to the turbine. In parallel, the capacities of the reactor will be removed: the control cassettes with nuclear fuel—uranium dioxide—will be lowered, which will reduce the intensiveness of the nuclear reaction. Then, in order to extinguish the reactor, boric acid will be introduced into it. The process of cooling off will begin....

Thus the heart of the first energy block of the Armyanskaya AES will stop forever. Then it will take another 2-2.5 years to remove the leftover nuclear fuel from here. Why so long? The fact is that before the nuclear fuel is ready for transportation it must be kept in special pools filled with a boric solution. It will be dispatched in special containers so that there will be no effect whatsoever on the radiation background.

So the Armyanskaya AES is being closed down. What lessons should we draw from this event? First of all, apparently, it is necessary to think again about the paths for the development of our atomic energy engineering and compare our experience with experience abroad. But I think the most important lesson is that in a state governed by law the departments should have no secrets from the people. The people should know everything, be kept current on everything, and judge everything independently. Glasnost and democratic discussion of all large and small, state and regional problems is the main guarantee against mistakes in the future.

Intellectuals Back Azerbaijan Communist Party Line
NC0603091489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Excerpts] The [word indistinct] and responsibility is gradually increasing in the Soviet community's restructuring process on the basis of democratization and glasnost. The moral development of the people depends on the extent the scientific potential is used [words indistinct] and the extent social sciences are successfully improved. The pressing tasks the party has put forward in that regard were discussed during the meeting Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee [CPCC], had with the [word indistinct] of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Literature, which has been named after Nizami.

It was noted that the republic's intellectuals, who are occupied with creative scientific and artistic work, have attached significant importance to the idea of restructuring, have considered it in depth, and have actively participated in the work carried out to restructure the moral situation of the community, realize the principles of glasnost and democratization, and fulfill the [word indistinct] tasks put forward by the Communist Party.

The meeting, held at the Azerbaijan CPCC with scientific and cultural officials, scholars and [word indistinct], brought to light the fact that they approve and support the views held by the Azerbaijan CPCC in connection with the realization of the principles of social justice, the strengthening of the moral situation, and the maintenance of an unwavering struggle against the opponents of restructuring. Furthermore, the meeting displayed the intellectuals' wish to contribute toward the idea of restructuring on the basis of the principles of [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Estonian Leaders Hold News Conference
PM0703133389 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 3

[ETA report by P. Raydla: "News Conference in Broadcasting House"]

[Excerpts] A news conference was held in the White Hall in Broadcasting House 24 February. Questions were answered by A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; I. Toome, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers; M. Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee; and E. Savisaar, member of the Estonian People's Front Board. [passage omitted]

We will cite just excerpts from what was said at the news conference.

"Our proposals on improvements to the Estonian SSR Constitution are very detailed," A. Ryuytel noted. "Their purpose is to create prerequisites for the republic's switch to full economic accountability. We strive for autonomy not only in the economy but also in culture, education, and other spheres so as to solve all questions by ourselves. Including the price formation question."

"The switch to economic accountability will no doubt be complex," I. Toome said. "It will be a process in time and space, in the complex relations with a central power whose current ideas of republican economic accountability substantially differ from the Baltic republics' viewpoint. They actually differ in the degree of radicalism. Between March and May we have to do a lot of work in preparation for the first step toward the implementation of Estonian economic accountability."

"Next week we will submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet a package of draft laws on Estonian economic accountability," E. Savisaar said. "Representatives of the Latvian and Lithuanian Peoples' Fronts are now in Tallinn. We will elaborate the principles which we wish to submit to Moscow at the initial stage."

"We have approached the CPSU Central Committee via party channels and have instigated a reassessment of events in 1939 and 1940," M. Titma said. "Such a reassessment must evidently take place.... Is Estonia aiming for secession from the Soviet Union? An unambiguous answer can be given here. Just as the EEC is striving for integration, we would perceive it as beneficial for ourselves if we, as a sovereign republic, could act with true autonomy within a single union with other identical states. This is why we are striving to restore sovereignty within the union framework."

The news conference was chaired by Yu. Paalma, chairman of the Estonian Journalists Union Board.

Estonia's Vyalyas Speaks on Republic's Autonomy
PM0703150989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 p 1

[ETA report by P. Raydla: "One Day in Vilyandiskiy Rayon"]

[Excerpts] Newspapers on 23 February carried brief reports on the meetings the first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee had in Vilyandi and Vilyandiskiy Rayon.

Discussion at the dairy products combine focused mainly on production problems. [passage omitted]

The next meeting took place in Mustla, where voters had assembled at the "Tarvastu" Kolkhoz club. [passage omitted]

You all are well aware of what the republic party organization and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee have been doing recently, V. Vyalyas said. As a Communist I perceive the implementation of decisions made by the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum and subsequent party forums as the main point in my election campaign platform. From the very 1st day when I took on the duties of first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee I have striven to ensure that the people know what we are doing.

How do I as candidate people's deputy perceive our urgent problems, which path do we intend to follow in the future? I believe that the most important point is to improve our economy. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government have done quite a lot of work along this avenue. But this is only the beginning. There are plenty of plans and ideas, but so far we have not achieved any special practical results. And yet every person wants, first and foremost, to experience an improvement in his daily life—from daily bread to spiritual nourishment, humane attitudes in hospitals and polyclinics, concern for the elderly in the social security sphere, opportunities for young people to obtain education. All this determines a person's attitude toward his work; it determines his good mood, and so on. When we say that Estonia must revive our forebears' sound tradition of respect for labor, it is also worth bearing in mind that the feeling of being in charge can be nurtured only when people start solving their own problems. This is why, I believe, you support the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, which has already and on numerous occasions discussed questions of Estonia's sovereignty and its autonomous decisionmaking. I would be bold enough to assert that the decisions made by the Supreme Soviet have met with the people's approval. Another important step must also be mentioned—the adoption of the Estonian SSR Law on Language. The national language, culture, and way of life must be preserved on the land where our forebears lived over the centuries.

There have, of course, also been diametrically opposite opinions. And clearly, this, too, is to some extent explainable. But the Law on Language in no way means that we will behave worse toward people who do not speak the Estonian language. No, this will not happen. People have only one native language, and must be respected when they speak their own native language. At the same time it is perfectly obvious that all those who have chosen Estonia as their place of residence must honor this land's language, traditions, customs, culture, and history.

We will celebrate Estonian Independence Day 24 February. History is a strict and serious matter; it does not tolerate falsehoods. It is impossible to rewrite it, since the people have their historical memory. We have carefully weighed all details when making our decisions. We in no way intend, in our appraisal of history, to repeat the mistakes committed both in the distant and in the recent past, when everything was perceived just in black and white. If we were to adopt that selfsame interpretation of history now, we would be committing an irreparable mistake. Facts must be examined in the way they actually occurred. In recalling our people's real history on this day we will behave in such a way that the people could say: We acted correctly.

Speaking about the program of our party's future activity, it certainly contains the development of interethnic relations and the solution of many more problems. As you know, a CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations will be held soon. It will examine questions of statewide importance—expansion of republics' rights and sovereignty, economic development, guaranteed future development of national cultures and languages, and easing of tension in interethnic relations. The causes of this tension must be explained and the conditions for their elimination created.

A CPSU Central Committee plenum on the agrarian question will be held in March. At the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum we said that agriculture must enjoy priority in development. Now I would like to amplify this somewhat. While developing agriculture we took a lot out of the land and put very little back. Farmers know: You can deceive the field once, but it will more than get its own back. This is why we have held serious consultations with farmers, found out their views, had discussions with scientists, and expressed our own points of view. [Vyalyas ends] [passage omitted]

Latvian Interfront Congress Resolutions Published

PM0303122489 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 19 Feb 89 p 3

[Feature comprising six resolutions of the constituent congress of the International Front of Working People of the Latvian SSR]

[Text]

Resolution of the Constituent Congress of the International Front of Working People of the Latvian SSR [Interfront] on the Implementation of the Tasks and Basic Guidelines for Interfront's Activity Set Forth in its Statutes and Declaration

The congress notes that in the course of the restructuring begun and implemented by the CPSU, the sociopolitical activeness and self-awareness of the republic's inhabitants have increased, as well as their desire to put into practice the plans of the party and people in all spheres of political and socioeconomic life.

The processes taking place in our society have led to a polarization of forces whose interests are diametrically opposed. On the one hand there are the forces that seek

to contribute as much as possible to the cause of restructuring, and on the other there are forces that use democratic slogans in favor of restructuring as a cover, but in reality seek to destabilize the situation in society, sow ethnic discord, and thereby distract the working masses from their main goal.

The International Front of Working Poeple of the Latvian SSR advocates the rallying of all the republic's healthy forces that genuinely act in the interests of restructuring, the normalization of ethnic relations, and the harmonious development of Latvia in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres.

The Interfront Constituent Congress approves and supports the resolution of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee January 1989 Plenum and proposes that all the participants in Interfront actively implement the plenum's decisions in their practical activity.

The Interfront Constituent Congress resolves:

1. To form a social organization, the "International Front of Working People of the Latvian SSR"—Interfront—with the status of a legal entity and with statutes and a declaration defining its organizational structure, tasks, and basic guidelines for its activity.

2. The congress makes the following recommendations to Interfront primary organizations and councils:

In the Sphere of Human Rights

1. There is to be active participation in the propaganda and protection of the constitutional rights of the republic's inhabitants.

The organization and implementation of legal education and the cultivation of respect for Soviet law are to be promoted.

In order to ensure comprehensive protection of the rights of working people of all nationalities irrespective of social or professional status, a legal commission is to be set up in Interfront, tasked with participating actively in working parties for the drafting of laws and other normative acts.

Interfront advocates that its representatives be included in all working parties and commissions set up by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers. Interfront is resolutely opposed to the use of the mass media for the purpose of kindling ethnic discord.

Interfront's rayon and city councils must maintain exemplary order in the localities where their events are held.

2. There is to be active participation in the preparation and conduct of the election campaign for the elections of the USSR and Latvian SSR Supreme Soviets and local soviets of people's deputies. Support is to be given to worthy candidate deputies from the CPSU and also from social and sociopolitical organizations who express and defend the working people's interests not in words, but in deeds.

To use the efforts of Interfront activists in organizing effective assistance to candidate deputies in drawing up and implementing election programs and voters' instructions. Interfront participants and supporters, as well as all Interfront councils, are to be informed about the work done.

In the Sphere of Economic Reform

1. There is to be participation in the formulation of a fundamentally new concept of the republic's economic development, which will make it possible in the conditions of economic accountability to ensure an increase in the efficiency of social production and the population's real living standard. The work of initiative groups of Interfront participants is to be channeled into the implementation of production intensification measures and the introduction of leading economic management methods.

2. The switch to a 40-hour working week and at least 24 working days' paid leave for all categories of workers is to be promoted in every way.

3. The republic's agro-industry is to be offered Interfront's help in drawing up a comprehensive program of well-founded priorities in agricultural development, in which special attention is to be devoted to economic measures designed to prevent the exodus of agricultural specialists from the countryside and ensure the effective development of the lease and family contract, with direct access to the market.

In the Sphere of Social Justice

1. It is proposed that the republic Council of Ministers create public commissions for the study and formulation of concrete proposals and measures to:
—increase the proportion of resources directed into consumer needs from the national income;
—lift restrictions on the size of earned income in the state sector of production;
—abolish centralized regulation of wages;
—stop the rise in state prices for essential goods and the disappearance of cheap goods from the trade network.

2. With a view to improving the demographic situation in the republic, Interfront advocates the creation of a republican fund from which an allowance for children under 16 will be paid as a supplement to one of the parents' wages.

3. Assistance is to be given to labor collective councils in monitoring the fair distribution of housing and the utilization of sanatorium and resort institutions on the republic's territory, as well as other social services.

4. To ensure social justice, Interfront proposes the drafting of new republican housing legislation, abandoning the existing basic assessment of housing requirements based on the number of square meters of housing space, and going over to a comprehensive assessment taking into account area, comfort, location, and length of time spent living in unfavorable conditions.

5. Interfront will participate in the drafting of a comprehensive program "Charity" for material and other assistance to the disabled, the elderly, people living alone, war and labor veterans, and internationalist servicemen.

6. Interfront advocates the immediate ending of all so-called special distributions of food and industrial goods according to professional, departmental, and social criteria and the abolition of closed vacation centers and treatment and preventive institutions.

Interfront's rayon and city councils are to inform the general public and the leaders of the relevant organizations of all cases of the violation of the fair distribution of social benefits that are uncovered.

In the Sphere of Ethnic Relations

1. Organizational and ideological work are to be channeled into ensuring the further free development of every nation and ethnic group in Soviet Latvia and strengthening friendship and equal cooperation between peoples based on the principles of internationalism. Sociopolitical extremism, nationalism, and chauvinism are to be resolutely condemned. Infringements and violations of citizens' rights and legitimate interests on the basis of ethnic criteria are not to be permitted.

2. An ethnic relations commission is to be set up under the Interfront republican council, with the aim of collecting and summarizing proposals from the republic's population for submission for examination by the relevant Latvian SSR organs of power.

3. The Interfront council is to submit to the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers proposals for finalizing the draft "Resolution on Ending Artificial Population Growth."

4. Interfront will participate in the implementation of organizational, legal, and economic measures to promote the natural and harmonious development of true bilingualism on the republic's territory.

5. Interfront is prepared to participate in working parties to draft proposals to promote the development of the unique culture and language of the Latgalians and Livonians.

6. Interfront proposes the introduction of a range of regular sociopolitical programs in Russian on republican radio and television.

In the Sphere of Environmental Conservation

1. The Latvian SSR Council of Ministers is to be requested to submit promptly, for nationwide discussion, draft comprehensive programs on ecology and environmental conservation. There is to be active participation in the discussion and finalization of these documents.

2. There is to be participation in the drafting of a progam of measures to clean up the ecological situation in the Gulf of Riga and to establish the gulf area as having the status of a conservation area.

3. Practical assistance is to continue to be given to the republic's enterprises in the construction and modernization of purification installations, and there is to be participation in the work of independent expert commissions on ecology.

The Attitude Toward Social Organizations

1. Interfront is to cooperate in its activity with all social and sociopolitical organizations that share its aims and tasks. It is to come out resolutely against all violations of the USSR Constitution, the Latvian SSR Constitution, and existing legislation in the program documents and practical activity of social organizations.

2. It is to participate actively in measures to protect citizens' rights and interests, ensure safety at work, and revise the existing Code of Labor Laws, with broad preliminary discussion of a draft in the labor collectives.

Young People

1. Young people are one of the main motive forces of restructuring, a force that needs socioeconomic protection and purposeful international education. Interfront is to submit to the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet proposals for:
—drafting and adopting a long-term state program for the devleopment of young people in the Latvian SSR,
—forming a youth affairs committee under the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, and
—forming a separate item in the republican budget for expenditure on young people's social and cultural needs.

In the Sphere of Education

1. The practice of cooperation between Interfront and the Latvian SSR Ministry of Public Education in improving the education system is to be continued.

2. Interfront is to draw up concrete proposals for the creation of a new Latvian SSR VUZ—the Riga humanitarian institute, with teaching in Russian and the languages of other national minorities, for training the social and creative intelligentsia. **Resolution on the Adoption of the Statutes of the International Front of Working People of the Latvian SSR**

Having heard and discussed the report by the chairman of the editorial commission on the drafting of the statutes, the congress resolves:

1. To adopt the proposed Interfront Statutes in their entirety, with the amendments and additions submitted.

2. The editorial commission is to incorporate all the proposals and amendments into the text of the Statutes and prepare them for publication by 30 January 1988 [date as published].

3. The statutes are to be duplicated in the necessary number of copies to supply every Interfront primary organization and council by 15 February 1988 [date as published].

4. All Interfront primary organizations, councils, and participants are to be guided by the statutes in their work and form their organizations in accordance with its provisions.

Resolution on the Interfront Auditing Commission

The Interfront Constituent Congress resolves:

1. To elect an Interfront auditing commission as follows:
1. L.M. Volovik,
2. G.P. Konstantinova,
3. V.I. Prutsev,
4. K.L. Stroganov,
5. N.M. Shkilenok.

2. The Interfront auditing commission has the right to monitor the financial activity of republican, city, and rayon Interfront councils and is subordinate only to the congress.

3. Reports on the work of the auditing commission are to be published in the Interfront press organ and approved at its next congress. **Resolution on the Adoption of the Declaration of the International Front of Working People of the Latvian SSR**

Having heard and discussed the report of the chairman of the editorial commission for the drafting of the declaration, the congress resolves:

1. To adopt the proposed Interfront Declaration in its entirety, with the amendments and additions made.

2. The editorial commission is to incorporate all the proposals and amendments into the text of the declaration and prepare it for publication by 15 January 1989.

3. The declaration is to be duplicated in the necessary number of copies for supply to every Interfront primary organization and council by 30 January 1989.

4. All Interfront primary organizations, councils, participants, and supporters are to be guided by the declaration in their work and are to promote through practical action the implementation of its provisions for the benefit of all the republic's population. **Resolution on the Foundation of an Interfront Press Organ**

The Interfront Constituent Congress resolves:

Exercising the right of social organizations freely to express their views with the help of the mass media, to found the weekly press organ YEDINSTVO ["UNITY"]. **Resolution on the Interfront Emblems [atributika]**

The Interfront Constituent Congress resolves:

To instruct the Interfront council to approve temporary emblems for Interfront.

Critic's Home in Chernobyl Razed by Bulldozers

PM0703125989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Correspondent M. Odinets "Rejoinder": "Home Demolished...For Criticism"]

[Text] Kiev—You get different reactions to PRAVDA articles. But this is the first time we journalists have encountered such a reprisal for criticism....

The article "Is the City of Chernobyl to Exist?" by the well-known Ukrainian writer A. Levada (8 October 1988) sharply raised the question of the future of Chernobyl, which will be 800 years old in 1993. It rightly criticized the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and its subdivision—the "Kombinat" Production Association—for a thoughtless, irresponsible attitude to the fate of the ancient land and its inhabitants.

The author of the article wrote bitterly that "Kombinat," expressing the will of fervent advocates of the city's destruction without delay, had set itself the firm goal of destroying the Chernobyl that has existed for many centuries and razing its houses and gardens without consulting the population—its residents.

The 80-year-old writer is already too late for his own home. It has been razed along with the garden. And yet the house was certainly not ramshackle, as "Kombinat" employees now try to portray it. The building was rebuilt several years ago and had four rooms. The neighboring

house, belonging to a school director, which has also been destroyed, was finished by construction workers in April 1986—that is, on the eve of the accident at the AES.

"Our misfortunes," Aleksandr Levada says, "have failed to touch only 'Kombinat's' leaders. In thinking about them frequently, I try to understand how it has happened that a variety of persons has taken shape in our society not just in cotton wool but in the departmental cotton wool of technocrats and bureaucrats. Operating within the system of the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, or the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, they have done and are doing incalculable harm to our people and to the state."

We spoke to M. Sedov, general director of the "Kombinat" Production Association, who said that he had read the PRAVDA article by the writer Levada and was very distressed that his house at No 2 Naberezhnaya Street had been demolished. "I bear him no malice, nor could I," he declared. "I feel myself guilty and am prepared to apologize."

Explaining the actions of the bulldozer drivers operating feverishly in Chernobyl's lowland by the Pripyat River, "Kombinat's" leader referred to an instruction from B. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who supposedly criticized the association for being slow to demolish houses. "Our task," M. Sedov pointed out, "is to demolish 7,000 ramshackle houses."

As is known, splinters fly when you cut down a forest. But, if you please, these are not splinters but, for the most part, good, durable houses. It is an entire city which has stood here since the 12th century. And it can and must remain whole and not be taken out of our life.

Aleksandr Levada tried to demonstrate this in the pages of a central newspaper, and paid a cruel price. This is a fantastic story which can hardly be covered up with an apologetic curtsy.

Ukrainian 'Movement for Restructuring' Criticized

AU2402085389 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 3

[Article signed by V. Kukhar, vice president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; I. Lukinov, member and vice president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; V. Skok, member and vice president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; B. Stogniy, corresponding member and chief scientific secretary of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences F. Rudich, director of the Institute of the History of the Party under the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. Gordiyenko, deputy director of the philosophy Institute in the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences: "Revolutionary Restructuring Is Vital for the People"]

[Text] The revolutionary restructuring taking place in all spheres of Soviet society is currently attracting the attention of all peace-loving mankind. It has become an authentic historic phenomenon in the development of our country, world socialism, and mankind.

This is only natural. The new line of development of the USSR has opened up new opportunities and prospects for socialism, for its ability to respond to the topical problems and the realities marking the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries. Developments in a country that ranks among the world's largest cannot fail to arouse interest, a natural interest among the world public, which has been confronted with global, universal problems concerning mankind. What part in settling them falls to socialism, and what role should it play in preserving civilization and life itself on our planet?

Let us face the truth. In the last decades, the situation in our country gave grounds for pessimism. late in the seventies and early in the eighties, the country found itself in a critical situation. the serious deformations of socialism, the stagnant economy, the departure from the principles of socialist democracy, the terrible burden of military expenses, the sway of the narrow-minded bureaucratic apparatus and the administrative command system of management, contempt for the great ecological and cultural problems, and the increasing impact of theoretical dogmas lead ever farther away from the living spirit of the leninist teaching about socialism as a society created for the sake of man, for the sake of meeting his widest needs and demands.

The realization of the need for resolute, radical revolutionary changes, for a bold turn toward reality matured both in the CPSU and among the people, in the center and in the field, at various levels of party leadership and in basic party organizations, in the workers class and the peasantry, among the creative and scientific intelligentsia. This turn was made at the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The party has elaborated the idea of restructuring, has initiated it, has developed a program for it, and has organized its practical implementation. The concept of accelerated social development has become the antithesis to stagnation. A program for renewing socialism has been counterposed to the old petrified dogmas in theory and to bureaucratic practice. Man, the guarantee of his interests, and responsibility to him have become the focal point of all plans and accomplishments. Having obtained support in the people's hearts and minds and with their efforts, the concept of restructuring, its guidelines and directions have become a vehement force.

The time has come for important and tangible changes for the better, changes that alter the features of the country, and its social and political life. They have brought about deep and irreversible changes in the economic system, have radically altered the attitude to man, enhanced man's dignity and rights, and the importance and value of man's creative efforts.

The 27th CPSU Congress brought forward a comprehensive and well balanced program for renewing society, and thus enriched the concept of restructuring. The January (1987) CPSU Central Committee plenum examined crucial problems concerning the role of the party in the further democratization, and the June plenum set tasks for a radical economic reform. The principled results of the path covered by the land of the soviets, and the lessons stemming from them were summed up in party documents dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the great October revolution. The large-scale ideological problems of restructuring were examined at the February (1988) CPSU Central Committee plenum.

A qualitatively new stage of restructuring, and the meaning given to its remarkable ways of perfecting the methods of action and further dynamizing the processes of renewal in Soviet society are linked with the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The entire party and wide masses of the population actively participated in preparations for the conference and in defining major problems that had to be examined. The conference paid much attention to the reform of the political system which was highly important as the guarantor of restructuring. The constant active participation of the working people in elaborating the concept of restructuring makes this concept viable, realistic, and justified. It also ensures that the concept will be put into effect without fail.

Restructuring is remarkable for the fact that important aspects of it are being thoroughly examined in labor collectives, at scientific institutions, at public meetings, and in the nationwide democratic campaign preceding the election of USSR people's deputies. "And the point that mattered most, comrades," M.S. Gorbachev said at the 6 January 1989 meeting with scientific and cultural figures, "was that virtually the entire society has participated in the process of elaborating the strategy and policy of restructuring. The most important problems were subject to discussion. Therefore, we have every reason to say that all people have participated in formulating the theory and policy of restructuring."

Engendered by the deep socioeconomic, political, and spiritual needs experienced by all peoples of the USSR, restructuring has become vital for them; it has given meaning to their activity. The efforts that have been made to implement the party's program in practice have assumed the shape of an authentic national movement of the Ukrainian people.

The workers class, peasantry, and intelligentsia of the Soviet Ukraine have followed the CPSU consciously and confidently. Guided by a militant CPSU detachment, the Ukrainian Communist Party, they have dedicated all their efforts, creative work and inspiration to the cause of restructuring.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's Supreme Soviet and government have worked out and taken a number of effective measures to overcome the deformations and shortcomings inherited from the times of stagnation in all economic branches, in social and political relations, and in national and cultural development, effective measures to expand the sphere of application of the Ukrainian language, to give this language state, constitutional guarantees, to radically improve man's working and living conditions, and to settle pressing ecological problems. This work has been undertaken jointly with all-union party, administrative, and economic organs, and with the support and cooperation of the fraternal republics of the USSR.

One can at present frequently hear and read that restructuring in the Ukraine is progressing slowly, that it is not producing any appreciable results or evident improvements in the material living standards, in meeting the cultural and every-day needs of the population, and so forth.

Of course, there is little consolation in saying that in other regions of the country things are not only not better, but also, in a number of positions and for various reasons, the situation there is perhaps even more complicated. It seems to be most important to realize soberly that, point one, the country's industry has switched over to full economic accountability and self-financing only in 1989, and it would be at least naive to expect it to produce fabulous results overnight; and point two, unsettled problems—and they still are, unfortunately, numerous indeed—must not overshadow the positive changes that have been taking place in the ukraine's national economy since 1985.

In 1986-88, the national income actually rose more than 12 percent against the targeted 11.2 percent. In the last 3 years, the productivity of communal labor increased more than 14 percent against the planned 11.4 percent. Compared with 1988, the volume of overall livestock production has increased substantially, by 3.8 percent. It must also to be borne in mind that, whereas the USSR as a whole fell short of the 1988 targets for increasing the production of consumer goods and payable services to the population, the republic fulfilled the plans for these indexes.

In particular, more attention has been paid to the development of the social sphere. The actual area of houses built from 1986 to 1988 totaled 62.4 million square meters against the planned 58.9 million square meters. The level reached in the republic in providing the population with children's preschool establishments ranks among the highest, and amounts at present to 61 percent against the country's average of 58 percent. The republic has also overfulfilled the plans for putting out-patient establishments and hospitals into service. Owing to the application of scientific and technological achievements, the Ukrainian SSR ranks among the lowest in the number of industrial workers engaged in manual labor.

Plans for building hydraulic and power generating facilities are being reviewed with the participation of the wide public. As is known, the decision has been adopted to stop the operations to dam the Dnepr-Bug estuary, and to build the Chigirin and the Crimean [word indistinct].

The decisions adopted by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee to settle immediate problems concerning interethnic relations and to meet the national needs of the Ukrainian and other peoples living in the republic are of principled importance. The decisions envisage a comprehensive program to expand the sphere in which the Ukrainian language is used, to ensure a harmonious native-Russian bilingualism, to meet the national cultural needs of the other peoples of the Ukraine, and to perfect the internationalist and patriotic education of the population.

The detailed program for revolutionary restructuring and the growing scope and rates of its practical implementation call for united efforts, for the closest consolidation of the people, and for an increase in everyone's contribution toward the cause of restructuring. The times of talks and discussions, of meetings and emotional outbursts have passed, and attempts to resume them are out of place. At present they only can hinder the undertaking and may divert restructuring from its main course to a roundabout way. This should be borne in mind, primarily by intellectuals. In addressing them, M.S. Gorbachev said: "What emerges now in the foreground is constructive, creative work. We must realize this all, Comrades. There is more fun at meetings, but to move restructuring forward, it is essential to steer all intellectual forces toward everyday work."

And here we have another manifesto. It has been prepared by an initiative group of the Kiev organization of the Ukrainian writers union and the T.G. Shevchenko Literary Institute. The document is entitled: "Program for the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Restructuring." We admit that it associates directly with the people's fronts in the Baltic region, with movements that are too contradictory and that have thus far failed to bring about a consolidation in the aforesaid republics. It is also undeniable that their organizers cannot boast of a real contribution to practical achievements in restructuring. But the division along national lines, mutual suspicions, and distrust, on the other hand, run rather deep.

It must be objectively admitted that the authors from the Kiev organization of the writes union and from the T.G. Shevchenko Literary Institute under the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences have declared their aspiration to follow the line traced by the CPSU. Their appeals are addressed to all nationalities living in the Ukraine. These appeals refer to a wide range of problems which are topical indeed and occasionally very sensitive, and which urgently need a solution.

Now there is the draft. And if the minor errors, defects, or editorial slips that are inherent in most drafts were the only things that mattered, everything would be normal, as usual, or even customary. But the main problem does not amount to a correction, which would be the expedient thing in such cases, but to the fundamental question: Is this draft as such necessary at all? Does it contain anything essentially new in comparison with the party's programmatic documents which expound the concept of revolutionary restructuring and draw up the ways of carrying it out in practice?

Of course, in the initial stage of restructuring, which will soon be marking its 4th anniversary, it was expedient to draw up alternative versions. But now that seems to be a very belated pursuit. History and the actual reality do not allow us any time for this purpose.

Quite different is the question: Do we need to examine some sectors, to sum up what has been done, and to define our steps for the future more precisely? Undoubtedly, we do. But after all, truth is always specific, and we must not overlook the fact that the mechanism that we have at present is the most democratic, and that the electoral campaign will specify both separate general lines, and also tasks of local importance. And this unprecedented process has enlisted literally all the country's population. The universal upsurge in the political activity of the masses is a characteristic feature of the present social atmosphere in the Ukraine.

The draft's thesis that the people's movement of the Ukraine for restructuring is "a new form of the bloc of the communists and nonparty members" seems, in this context, to be a strange anachronism that is incompatible with the present realities. Even if we disregard the fact that the formula of the "bloc" emerged during the electoral campaign in 1937 and that it was mechanically used in the times of stagnation, we must see the main point: This formula misses by a long way the real essence of the qualitatively new condition of the party's unity with the people, a condition created by restructuring.

In assessing the draft as an attempt to provide a political platform for the movement, the most important thing is to find the position adopted toward the CPSU. This is mainly because the whole experience of restructuring has clearly shown that, in its role as generator of restructuring ideas and guarantor of their implementation, the party was irreplaceable.

At first sight, everything appears to be all right in the draft. It says that "the movement recognizes the leading role of the Communist Party..." that it "cooperates with the CPSU..." and "implements the decisions of the 27th congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference." But what, in the authors' opinion, is the role assigned in this activity to the movement? Here we can see something "new." In their opinion, the movement "is a link binding the restructuring ideas of the party with the initiative of the widest masses of the people."

This is a thesis that deserves a closer look. Point one is that it restricts the role of the party to the mere generating of ideas. Point two, it artificially wrenches ideas arising from the needs of the people and expressed by the communists from the initiative of the widest masses of the people. In this way, the party is regarded in the thesis not only as a body that exists apart from the people, but also as one in need of an additional mechanism to keep it in touch with the people. Moreover, the claim to the role of an imaginary "binding link" is also groundless in view of the fact that, while consistently advancing along the path of democratizing Soviet society and thoroughly reforming the political system, the party has already created a reliable mechanism for revealing the will of the masses and maintaining constant contacts with them. The bodies that have actively made themselves known in recent years are women's councils, the V.I. Lenin Children's Fund, war and labor veterans' councils, scientific and scientific-technical societies, and so forth. Along with the renewed trade unions and Komsomol, they will be directly represented in the supreme organ of the Land of the Soviets. This is an important sector in creating a law-governed socialist state.

Let us take a look at one more particular feature of the draft. Whereas it applies exclusively to the Ukraine, the draft does not mention the Ukrainian Communist Party even once. How do the the draft's authors conceive of cooperation with the CPSU while bypassing the republic's party organization with a membership of 3 million, its local organizations, and its Central Committee?

Further, what role does the draft assign to the movement in the present system of people's sovereignty? It is a rather strange one: of "social guarantor of the revolutionary renewal of society." In addition, it has to be "independent from any administrative interference." The real guarantor of restructuring, the CPSU, has already been referred to. But as far as the attempt to exempt the future organization from any control is concerned, and the attempt actually to place it above the organs of people's rule at a time when the demand "All power to the Soviets!" has become a nationwide imperative, any comments here seem to be really superfluous.

Consequently, in the version proposed in the draft, in the mechanism of the party's relations with the masses this movement is superfluous, it does not blend into the system of authentic people's sovereignty, and it stands aside from the reform of Soviet society's political system.

Here is another important question: practical participation in restructuring. Let us speak clearly: The draft does not offer any real program for this purpose. Rather, it resembles a collection of numerous slogans that have been published recently in the press. But there is no way of finding an answer in the draft to the question of what has to be done to effectively overcome the economic and ecological difficulties.

There is one more conclusion to be drawn from a careful reading of the draft: It does not offer any constructive proposal on how to find a way out of the truly complex socioeconomic situation that has emerged, unfortunately, not only in the Ukraine. Meanwhile, anyone who is impartial can clearly see that seemingly attractive, but at the moment illusory, demands in the spirit of economic romanticism do not offer a way out of the situation. The way out lies in real deeds, in the determination to work better, more enterprisingly and efficiently, and, in reliance on the assistance of a strong center, to enhance all forms of cooperation with fraternal republics.

Finally, there is one more aspect that must not be passed by. The point on our minds is the relationship between what is national and what is internationalist, a point that arouses concern in a certain sector of the intelligentsia. On the whole, the draft is free of propaganda about strains in interethnic relations. In certain passages, it calls for the interests of all peoples to be defended, and the interest of the population of the Ukraine, which itself forms a multinational community.

But the draft falls short of properly comprehending internationalism and the ways to consistently implement this inalienable principle of the Soviet way of life. And this is an issue of principled importance. V.I. Lenin considered a real internationalist to be anyone who is able to place the interests of the common cause above the interests of his or her own nation. At a time when it is particularly essential to mobilize the efforts of all Soviet people to eliminate the deformations of socialism and to renew it, the question of monolithic unity among the fraternal peoples of the USSR arises with particular urgency.

As a result of the victorious great October revolution, the Ukrainian people created their own socialist state. The year 1989 marks the half-century jubilee of the reunification of all Ukrainian lands in one single Soviet state. This was an act of historical justice. The reunited Ukrainian people had taken a worthy place in the international arena.

All this gives particular importance to issues concerning the development of the Ukrainian people's national culture and statehood. The measures taken recently in the republic have made a significant contribution toward the efforts to stop the adverse processes of diminishing the prestige of Ukrainian culture, and of narrowing the sphere of functioning of the Ukrainian language in various areas of life. The new atmosphere which became predominant in the republic has invigorated the public activity of the masses. One of its results was the recent foundation of the T.G. Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society. The republic's Communist Party and government are creating conditions that are suitable for further constructive work to develop the Ukrainian national language and culture, conditions suitable for the public and professional activity of creative organizations and

societies. But work in the sphere of settling interethnic problems has called and calls for particular tact, for the strict observation of the Leninist democratic principles. It must not be carried out hastily by exerting pressure and with disregard for people's national sentiments and historical traditions.

In this respect, the demand to immediately switch the republic's secondary special and higher educational institutions over to the Ukrainian language in teaching, without taking into consideration the existing potentials and social needs, goes against elementary democratism. This issue is highly important, and it has to be accorded maximum attention. After all, is is a matter concerning the republic's Russian-language population of nearly 20 million. As far as the parents' right to chose the language in which their children have to be taught is concerned, there is no doubt that all pupils in the republic should learn and know the Ukrainian language, but the parents' right to chose for their children a Ukrainian-language, Russian-language, or any other language school is, as is known, constitutional.

Let us once again return to the essence of the matter and say: Many ideas expounded in the movement's draft program are correct, but they are neither new nor original. They have been in practice for a long time.

*** Ukraine Official Interviewed on Russification**
WA18000524a Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Dec 88 p 1

[Interview with Aleksandr Tikhonovich Melnikov, chairman of Kherson Oblispolkom and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy, conducted by V. Zlenko: "A Living Source of Unification: A Sense of Family"; date, place not specified]

[Text] It is an historical fact that the territory of Kherson Oblast and the entire southern region of our republic which we call the Tauris was settled by people from the central and eastern parts of the Ukraine, by the Zaporozhe Cossacks and also by people from Russian provinces. Later Serbs, Jews, Germans, Poles and Swedes settled in the plain along the lower Dnieper. Following the conclusion of the second round in the Russo-Turkish War and the annexation of the Crimea the region also gained a Tatar population.

For many centuries the members of many other nationalities and peoples lived alongside the Ukrainians as good neighbors. They lived in peace, sowing grain together, building villages and cities, raising children. Many families merged and became truly internationalist. This friendship has become particularly strong and prominent in the Soviet era, since the voluntary unification of peoples in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. But how trouble-free are nationalities relations today? In what practical ways are the needs of the various ethnic groups living in our oblast taken into consideration? What have been the results of internationalist and patriotic education of working people? What are its strong and weak points?

Our correspondent posed these questions to A. T. Melnikov, chairman of Kherson Oblispolkom and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Deputy.

[Melnikov] We should give credit to historical tempering and the effectiveness of the whole complex of internationalist and patriotic education for the working people of our oblast. We have not had any notable misunderstandings on ethnic grounds. But this issue remains as timely as ever.

For quite a long time we wrongly felt that there were no clouds on the horizon of interethnic relations. We thought that once children dressed in their national costumes and marched smartly along carrying flags at celebrations commemorating the latest anniversary, there would be no more problems to be solved with regard to the nationalities question.

These external attributes are necessary, but they are not the most important thing. Party, soviet and economic leaders often forgot that every miscalculation of an economic nature, every failure in administration, could be projected into the realm of nationalities relations. Sometimes certain production departments would find themselves in unfavorable conditions. And we never asked ourselves, for example, what the ethnic composition of that brigade was, that did not receive a year-end bonus. For some people this trivial fact could possibly become an important and persuasive incident, and could later be augmented by others.

It is difficult for me personally to give examples of manifestations of ethnic conceit or egoism, but I must admit that we have not been fully sincere with regard to matters of national culture. On more than one occasion we have proclaimed from the podium, and at various celebrations, that Ukrainian is a euphonious, melodious language. Yet for a long time we did nothing to stop the shrinking of the realm in which it is used, to instill in our fellow countrymen genuine respect and love for it. And insincerity always creates a reaction. Furthermore, there exists a real danger that that reaction will be magnified due to the heightened ethnic sensibilities of the offended individual. No matter how we attempt to justify ourselves by citing the serious barriers and deformations of the era of stagnation, the fact remains that in all of Kherson there are only two Ukrainian-language schools, and none at all in Novaya Kakhovka or Genichesk. Or another completely unjustified occurrence: there was not a single banner written in Ukrainian in the May Day parade of an oblast center with a population of almost half a million.

Some people may say to themselves: was this not on orders from above? Of course not; it was more likely the result of political shortsightedness on the part of individual leaders and their inability to keep a finger on the living pulse of nationalities relations.

Internationalist work takes place on very many different levels, and we will not solve current problems by placing all the blame on leadership organs, by saying that they were the ones who gave commands that were not always well thought out. Analysis of the circumstances attests to the fact that the causes of failures and the nature of mutual misunderstandings are very often to be found in ourselves, in a slackening of our personal political vigilance and lack of attention to the interests of those around us, the members of another nationality in particular.

[Correspondent] Aleksandr Tikhonovich, what is being done in this oblast to serve the interests of people of all nationalities, to harmonize and coordinate those interests with the interests of the entire Soviet people?

[Melnikov] I would like to underscore this thought once again: resolution of interethnic relations problems should be carried out through an integral interconnection with the perfection of socialism. The link between the two is obvious. In the past we put all the blame for failures on party and economic administrators. Supposedly there was no point in soviets continuing to deal with municipal matters. As full authority is restored to the soviets this situation is changing markedly. Who is in a better position than the soviets to know how many members of which nationality live in a given territory? They should analyze the question of whether an ethnic group is underrepresented in the organs of power. In other words, if we are to rectify the situation we must first know the exact state of affairs. This is the difficult equalization process which we began following the 27th CPSU Congress.

Today there are members of 100 peoples and ethnic groups living in our oblast. We have cases of collectives numbering in the thousands where no disagreements occur for interethnic reasons. These include the Kherson Cotton Combine, the Novaya Kakhovka Electrical Machine Building Plant, combines in the canning and construction industries, the Oil Processing Plant named for S. Ordzhonikidze, and a number of others. In the village of Zmeyevka in Berislavskiy Rayon (Kommunist Sovkhoz) Ukrainians, Russians, Belorussians, Swedes, Germans, Bulgarians and Poles—altogether members of 40 different peoples—labor together shoulder to shoulder. The list goes on. But quantitative indices are not the point. The most important thing is that people of different nationalities are solving various problems in a businesslike manner, without escalating them to the point of conflict.

In order to channel this work into a clearly defined direction we held a special session entitled "On the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies With Regard to the Internationalist Education of Working People in View of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference." In preparation for that session we carefully analyzed the situation at the local level. We devoted particular attention to rayons with a high density of different nationalities. Take Genicheskiy Rayon, for example. Among deputies from that rayon there are 641 Ukrainians, 247 Russians, 9 Belorussians, 10 Tatars, two Jews and one Moldavian. All nationalities are represented in soviets of people's deputies in neighboring Novotroitskiy Rayon: 691 Ukrainians, 84 Russians, four Bulgarians, three Moldavians, three Poles, one Greek, one Czech and one Gypsy. It appears that no one has been left out today, because among our deputies there are Tatars, Germans, Udmurts, Gypsies and Chuvash—all in accordance with standards of representation, social diligence and personal authority.

Our session's decision states: to improve forms of participation by working people of all nationalities in the work of soviets. It is recommended that national-Russian bilingualism be expanded on a planned basis, with the active functioning of Ukrainian and other languages in various realms of social and cultural life to be assured. Recently there has been a growing interest in the Tatar language. For example, in Genicheskiy Rayon elective courses in it have already been set up. If necessary this form of language study will be expanded.

[Correspondent] In order to give us a broader picture, I would like to hear about your oblast's contacts with fraternal republics.

[Melnikov] It should be noted that those contacts are very wide-ranging. Both economic and cultural. Without listing them I would like to say that our oblast has a monopoly on the production of corn-harvesting combines. The whole world knows the barge pushing tugs built by our shipbuilders. One meter of fabric in three comes from the Kherson Cotton Combine, and the same is true of cellulose manufacturing. Our oblast is in second place with regard to the size of its sheep herd, and in first place in terms of wool production.

Other republics and the countries of the socialist camp help equip and supply these mighty production facilities. There are problems in that regard. We do not always receive the things we need, and we do not always fulfill our own shipment plans.

When one assesses fully the scope of our mutual relations one realizes the significance of the great family of peoples in the Soviet Union, its integral unity and indissoluble wholeness. For mutual economic support guarantees unity of action and achievements; in the final analysis it is the basic essence of socialist internationalism.

The people of Kherson Oblast regard the grief of the Armenian people as their own personal grief. We have sent clothing, medicine and equipment to the earthquake zone to aid the victims. Each person has tried to do his or her part to help our fraternal republic. The citizens of Kherson Oblast have already donated hundreds of thousands of rubles to Account No 700412. We are still receiving donations from enterprises, sovkhozes, kolkhozes and individual citizens.

[Correspondent] It is no secret that some people feel that the Ukraine is being Russified. What do you think is the reason for that opinion, and what can be done to counter it?

[Melnikov] I would give a short answer to that: we must oppose this through a sense of kinship. But let us start at the beginning. The study of Russian ensures communication between republics. That is indisputable. But it is also essential that we support the natural development of the national language, in this case Ukrainian. Unfortunately, the realm within which it is used has been unjustifiably curtailed. I do not deny the possibility that there were some "centralized" excesses. But these were blind or, even worse, fawning efforts made in the spirit of the times: yield above plan! Often they resulted from local incompetence or, worse, stupidity. They originated with people who were striving to achieve the proper number at all costs. In the economy, with no regard for rising costs; in culture, with no regard for the moral damage they were doing. These "zealots" did irreparable harm both to Ukrainian and to Russian culture. Let us leave these general subjects and take a look at practical work. The following data are from a sociological study done not in city schools, but rather in the schools of a remote steppe rayon, Novovorontsovskiy.

Of the students polled, 23 percent were in favor of studying their native language, 13 percent were opposed, and 64 percent were indifferent to the issue.

That last figure was most typical of a considerable segment of our society during the years of stagnation. Social apathy: people say, fine, let anything happen that will, because my personal opinion has no influence on the situation whatsoever. Ukrainian? All right, let's have Ukrainian. You want Russian? Then let's have Russian. We have to work with this category of people in a particularly thoughtful way.

Does not the fact that 1,500 children in our oblast have gotten permission not to study Ukrainian indicate a tendency toward becoming lazy philistines? Maybe children do not understand all this. But they have their parents and their teachers. We do not need to go into profound theories, just remember the popular saying: "How many languages I know is how many times I am a human being."

Therefore our tasks now are to improve the quality of training and advanced training for teachers of Ukrainian language and literature and to expand the network of schools and classes where in-depth study of those subjects is offered. This also applies to preschool facilities. On our agenda is a review, with a view toward ethnic interests, of the entire system for providing intellectual culture: the repertoire of theaters, shows and concerts, development of folk collectives, an appropriate orientation in the work of palaces of culture, clubs, museums and libraries, and a rebirth of folk crafts. To a large extent harmonious coordination of ethnic interests should be ensured by a principle of Russian-national bilingualism which has been thought out in detail and includes the names of squares and streets and signs on offices and public institutions. We must always remember that the process of restructuring and improvement of socialist society makes many urgent demands, among which are elimination of obsequiousness and inculcation of genuine respect for one another, and real personal and ethnic dignity, which is the guarantee of our great family's stability.

[Correspondent] Your proposals with regard to improved education of working people in a spirit of internationalism and Soviet patriotism? What role should be played in this process by soviets of people's deputies?

[Melnikov] First of all, I would like to stress the sacred feeling of kinship. The peoples of the Soviet Union have a rich history. We have borne major trials together over the course of the past 70 years. We overcame incredible difficulties during the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War. The vexing mistakes of recent years cannot overshadow these splendid pages in Soviet life. We should look at individual mistakes the way a good family would and say: we made them together, now let us work together to correct them. We inherited the sacredness of this sense of kinship from the time of Kievan Rus. Therefore in our work with regard to internationalist and patriotic education we should go to the deepest roots of our common history, friendship and mutual assistance. Only on the basis of concrete facts can we bring about the changes we need today.

Let me give you a few examples from our oblast. Everyone has heard about the friendship between our Genicheskiy Rayon and Makharadzevskiy Rayon in Georgia. Presently we are celebrating the 50th anniversary of these—I say without exaggeration—fraternal relations. But even in our oblast not everyone knows that just before New Year's several truckloads of citrus fruits grown in the village of Shroma will be arriving in the village of Rovnoye. No, they are not for sale; they will be distributed to each family as a holiday gift. The "Friendship Garden" in Makharadzevskiy Rayon is functioning. But unfortunately the "Friendship Farms" that were established in Genicheskiy Rayon have fallen into disrepair.

We definitely do not always take advantage of historical opportunities to strengthen internationalist sentiments. The Latvian Rifles earned immortal glory. Many of them died in Kakhovskiy Rayon. Yet unfortunately to this day we still do not have stable and firm ties with the Latvian Republic. Yet how much that would further our common interests! Because these are the kind of relations which can yield the desired fruits of friendship, with which entire generations can be tempered.

We also do not always take advantage of priceless treasures from our own history. By no means every scientist and adult is aware that during the Civil War Czechs, Hungarians, Poles and Chinese—members of many nationalities—fought to liberate the Ukraine. That our own grandfathers and great-grandfathers did not have enough to eat themselves yet send convoys of grain to hungry people in the Volga region, Moscow and Petrograd. The raising of Spanish children in Kherson is an equally moving and brilliant page in our history. They still write letters expressing their warm memories of the traditionally hospitable Ukrainian people. Yet in some rayons no museums are operating, in Golopristanskiy Rayon, for example. And no museum has even been established in Tsyurupinskiy Rayon. A logical question comes to mind: can a person respect himself if he does not fully know himself? Can he love his friend with all the depth of fraternal feelings if he does not know all his good qualities?

We must do everything we can to ensure that the heritage of our peoples, which is rich in military and labor traditions and is filled with splendid examples of courage, mutual assistance and service and incomparable revolutionary accomplishments, is utilized to the fullest in the noble cause of education. Then we will not have these "percentages of indifference"; there will be no grounds for petty dissatisfaction.

Professor Urges Better Ethnic Language Teaching

PM0603150489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Philological Sciences M. Vsevolodova, professor at Moscow State University, under the rubric "The USSR—Our Common Home": "Let Us Converse in Languages That Are Equal"]

[Text] Moscow—My neighbor on the intercity bus from Kishinev to Beltsy was a young Ukrainian. Sitting her 7- or 8-year-old daughter on the seat behind the driver, she gave her a thick book and said: "Learn it!" I could not help wondering why a little girl had to study such an obviously adult publication. It turned out that the family had recently moved to Moldavia, and the mother was concerned that the children should know the language of the people among whom they were to live; the book was a Russian-Moldavian dictionary of synonyms.

For 3 years in succession I taught a special Russian language course at the philology faculty of the teacher training institute in Beltsy. In some groups my students were Moldavian students, future teachers of Russian in schools using Moldavian as the language of instruction, while in other groups they were graduates of local Russian schools. The Moldavian students (in these groups, at least) were bilingual, that is, they had quite a good command of two languages. The students in the other groups, who were born and raised in Moldavia, as a rule did not, alas, know the language they heard all around them....

Unfortunately this situation is fairly typical. At present, what actually exists and is still taking shape in practice is one type of bilingualism—national-Russian. That is to say, members of a republic's indigenous population learn, along with their native language, Russian (how successfully is another matter). Russians and members of other nations get by primarily in Russian.

I have no wish to idealize the successes of national-Russian bilingualism in our country. The poor knowledge of Russian shown by many draftees in Moldavia has been mentioned in speeches by republican party leaders. Ignorance of Russian cost some Uzbek soldiers their lives in Afghanistan. Our military leaders have told us about this.

But I am talking about something else here—the fact that the question of the study of the language of the indigenous nationality by representatives of other population groups has not been officially raised in recent years (or rather, decades).

The processes leading to the dilution of the indigenous population of the republic with Russian speakers reflect the dynamics of national economic ties between regions. They are associated with the construction and operation of major industrial, power, and transportation projects and the distribution and transfer of specialists to the repbulic from elsewhere. If fate takes a person to the "back of beyond," usually, by force of circumstances, he learns the language of the local inhabitants in practice and can communicate normally with them in life and work. The children of such families also learn the language of their peer group and use it along with their native language. In cities and administrative centers, however, where there are comparatively large groups of Russian speakers, they do not feel the need.

Alienation and the creation of an abnormal language situation in a number of regions was also promoted by a particular thrust in official policy over the decades. Suffice it to recall that on Stalin's personal decision, the languages of Central Asia were twice switched, first from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet, and then to the Cyrillic, which could not fail to cause certain losses. Remember N.S. Khrushchev's hallowed utterance on the steps of the Belorussian State University: "The sooner we all speak Russian, the quicker we will build communism." The

result of the obedient efforts of official local authorites to fulfill this utterly ignorant instruction and at the same time "accelerate" the building of socialism by this simple means is common knowledge: Virtually no schools were left in Belorussia with the native language as the medium of instruction. Although in other republics they did not set about eliminating national schools quite so zealously, the general trend was approximately the same. On the one hand, for the greater part of the local party and soviet leadership and some of the national intelligentsia it became a matter of prestige to send their children to Russian kindergartens and schools. On the other, the teaching of the national language in the republics' Russian schools was reduced in quantity, and deteriorated in quality.

Yes, of course, the Soviet Union is our common home. And the animated nationwide response to the recent tragic events in Armenia demonstrated this clearly. But I agree with the Latvian doctor or engineer, I forget which, who said in a television program: Our home, yes, but not some kind of communal apartment.

Not being very zealous masters in our own mansion (let us admit that our "Russian apartment" is by no means among the best tended, best furnished, and most comfortable, although it is the biggest), and having absorbed over many years a conviction that the class approach takes priority over the nationwide, the short-term over the historic, and the permanent and economic over the spiritual, we gradually lost, over that period, the sense of national self-resepct, and also lost the habit of respecting that feeling in others.

But this does not only apply to Russians. Sometimes, without ringing or knocking and without wiping our feet on the doormat, we go into our neighbors' apartments in this house and conduct ourselves there without sufficient respect for our hosts. On the decision of central departments, all-union construction projects are begun in national regions, bringing in masses of people for whom the local, national culture and language and the indigenous population's historically developed forms of communication often remain alien. And people who are not familiar with historical and cultural monuments and traditions and a unique natural environment do not value them—they simply work, they build or operate the facility. And they simply do not notice that their quite "natural" behavior is not at all natural within the confines of another social entity. And I can understand the concerns and fears of the republics' intelligentsia for the fate of national languages and cultures. It seems to me that it is a logical and justified step to give the languages of national republics the status of state language.

When we go to live (permanently or temporarily) in a particular republic, and especially when we go there as guests or tourists, we do not, as a rule, know our hosts' language, being quite certain that everyone will want to talk Russian with us. And we are offended when we encounter no such desire, and we do not stop to think that this certainty of ours, our inattentiveness toward our hosts' language, our reluctance to learn a few polite phrases ("Hello," "Good-bye," "Please," "Thank you," "Excuse me"), sometimes coupled with a rather low general standard of behavior, offend and annoy people. Accumulating over the years, this annoyance can reach crisis point.

At the same time Russians were traditionally noted for their respectful attitude toward the language and culture of a people who have hospitably found room for them in their territory. Let us remember that some languages, such as Yakut, were described (that is to say, their grammar was described and a dictionary compiled) by Russian settlers, in particular political exiles; that the vast majority of Russian scientists who went to the Central Asian republics in the twenties and thirties to help to set up scientific centers learned the language of the indigenous population. These traditions have largely been lost.

But that is only one side of the problem. The other is that even given the desire to learn the language of the indigenous population, an adult usually cannot receive skilled help to do so. We have no organizations responsible for teaching these languages, no textbooks or self-instructional manuals exist, or almost none. Nor has a methodology been formulated for teaching national languages.

It will probably take years of painstaking work in the most diverse spheres and joint efforts by scientific and teaching circles and party and soviet organs to rectify the situation. The package of measures should undoubtedly cover a very wide range. Let me share my ideas on possible means of restructuring in this sphere. Let me mention two very closely interconnected aspects: first, the creation of bilingualism on a parity basis, and, second, the revival of "language building."

The creation within our republics of bilingualism and multilingualism based on parity, that is, not only national-Russian, but also Russian-national bilingualism, will require the development of an applied sphere of linguistics that is new to our republics—the description and teaching of the national language as a second language. To this end it is necessary to think out (thoroughly, comprehensively, and with goodwill toward the individual Russians who now live in the republics and each of whom is not personally to blame for the situation that has arisen) a whole range of measures, from kindergartens to VUZ's. I think, for instance, that the Russian language in national groups in nonphilological VUZ's and the national language in Russian-language groups should have at least the same number of hours. Various kinds of courses are needed, perhaps both paying and free, intensive and short-term, designed for a profound mastery of the language in the course of 1, 2, or 3 years on both a part-time and a full-time basis. Programs must

be drawn up designed for different contingents of students. Perhaps use could be made of the language-teaching experience that already exists in world practice—in the form of summer language seminars based at leisure centers, tourist centers, or other such institutions. It is necessary to write and publish textbooks and teaching aids for various categories of students, and they must be attractive and interesting to learn from.

Teachers of Russian as a foreign language could help with this, having accumulated rich experience. The skill improvement departments at the relevant faculties of Moscow State University, the P. Lumumba University of the Peoples' Friendship, and the A.S. Pushkin Russian Language Institute are, I think, prepared to receive in the near future their colleagues who are teachers of the national languages from the republics. Appropriate centers could probably be set up in the republics themselves (attached to the departments of national languages at the universities' philology faculties, or to the teacher training institutes), to coordinate and direct this work. And it would certainly be very useful to have an all-union coordinating center, perhaps attached to the USSR State Committee for Public Education, where general recommendations could be discussed and formulated and experience could be exchanged actively.

It is equally important to cultivate respect and interest for national languages and cultures, beginning in school. Remember, when N.G. Chernyshevskiy was a student at the Saratov church seminary, he won top marks in the Tatar language. The people who used to compile teaching programs for church seminaries considered it necessary for a priest to have a knowledge of the neighboring people's language.

Supposing that the study of one of our national languages was introduced in certain schools (not only in Russia) alongside the native language and a foreign language from the third or fourth grade, it is then possible to dream of a whole system of teaching and international education. For instance, summer language camps (including labor, sports, and music camps, and so forth) on the territory of a republic with the participation of local kids to create a language environment. Trips to pioneer camps in an isolated part of a republic with the maximum linguistic immersion, "exchange" visits to families, or one or two terms of study in a republic's schools for children in senior grades... Is this not international education?

But all these measures could prove ineffective without the appropriate scientific base. I am talking about the description of the language in question. The resolution of this task is indissolubly linked to the problems of language building in the republics and the overcoming of excessive separation and mutual isolation of national schools of linguistics.

Moscow State University philology faculty used to have a department and chair for training specialists in the languages and literatures of the Soviet East. They were abolished. I think it is essential to have faculties and teaching departments concerned with our national languages and literatures not only at the universities of the respective union and autonomous republics, but also at our central universities and teacher training VUZ's, and not only in Russia. This will galvanize the exchange of ideas, make it possible for different schools to spring up and compete, raise the study of national languages and literatures to a unionwide level, and lead to profound cultural, scientific, and spiritual interest and attention toward one another.

I have dwelt on the relationship between the Russian-speaking and indigenous population in the republics. Naturally, the problem in its totality is far more complex. In virtually every republic there are, if not autonomous territorial formations, then at least places densely inhabited by a population speaking a different language, or with a certain percentage of representatives of a given ethnic group. They too demand attention to their problems including language problems. After all, every language, even the language of a numerically small people, is a unique achievement of human intelligence, and its disappearance is a great loss to mankind.

Yes, the state of affairs in our country is relatively complex now, but I remember my traveling companion, the Ukrainian peasant, and her daughter with the thick dictionary, and I think that the people, for the most part, are wise. And this wisdom, given the correct language policy and attentiveness on society's part to these questions centrally and locally, will help us to resolve the problem of ethnic relations in a fitting manner.

Reestablishment of Volga German Republic Rumored

AU0303161889 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 3 Mar 89 p 1

["W.A." report: "New Founding of a Republic of Volga Germans?"]

[Text] Moscow, 2 March—In the Soviet Union there are increasing indications of the potential for a new founding of that Volga German Autonomous Republic which had been the home of more than 500,000 Russian Germans for generations, before Stalin had it abolished in 1941 and had its inhabitants deported to the desert areas of Kazakhstan and to forced-labor camps. After relevant demands by the German minority have been increasingly reflected in the two German-language papers FREUNDSCHAFT and NEUES LEBEN, against the background of the rising numbers of emigrants, it is no longer excluded that a decision on principle in favor of the former Volga Germans might be made this summer. An opportunity would be provided by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum which is scheduled for June, and at which a general new regulation of the relations between the Union and its individual republics is to be

discussed, in view of a number of current nationality problems. The assumption that this might include the reestablishment of the Volga Republic has meanwhile been nurtured by hints from the Soviet side that support from the FRG is expected in such a case.

Thus it is planned to establish an autonomous economic area along the middle part of the Volga, where the republic, which had been founded in 1924, covered an area of 28,000 square kilometers. This even gave rise to the assumption that the question of German financial and technical participation could already be discussed at talks for which FRG Economics Minister Haussmann was expected in Moscow on Thursday [2 March]. His program includes the initialing of an investment protection agreement, which Soviet state and party chief Gorbachev intends to sign together with Chancellor Kohl during his visit to Bonn in June.

Last October, during his visit to Moscow, the chancellor repeatedly broached the problems of the Russian Germans and said, among other things, that he hopes that these people, who had had to suffer much misery without any fault of their own, could "be mediators between the two peoples as in the past." They are doubtless able "to enrich the great variety in the Soviet Union" if they are guaranteed secure cultural rights and the free exercise of their religion.

In the view of spokesmen of the German minority, this would require, above all, the resettlement of these people—of their entire group, if possible—in their old homeland along the Volga. In addition, if this happens, the urge to emigrate to the FRG will be tangibly reduced, predict the members of this minority of about 2 million people. However, at present the number of emigrants from the Soviet Union continues to increase. During the first 2 months of this year, it already reached almost 12,000, while last year there were a total of 47,572 emigrants.

* Arteriosclerosis Affected Stalin's Personality

WA18300389a Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 9, 1 Mar 89 p 13

[Excerpts from unpublished manuscript by L. Myasnikov: "The Death. From the Memoirs of A.L. Myasnikov, One of the Medical Consultants Who Attended I.V. Stalin"]

[Text] **The letters we receive often ask about Stalin's last days and his death. We present here excerpts from an unpublished manuscript by member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Professor A.L. Myasnikov (1899-1965). He was a very eminent therapist, pupil of D.D. Pletnev and G.F. Lang, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Therapy, winner of the international "Golden Stethoscope" award. From 1960 he was working on a book of memoirs entitled "My Life," which he completed 3 months before his death. The professor's grandson sent the manuscript to the editorial office, and we thank him for thinking of the newspaper.**

Late in the evening of 2 March 1953 an official of the special department in the Kremlin hospital came to our apartment: "I have come to fetch you to treat a sick boss." I quickly made said my good-byes to my wife (it was not clear where I was going or when I would be back). We traveled along Kalininka Street, where professors N.V. Konovalov (a neuropathologist) and Ye.M. Tareyev were waiting for us, and we hurried off to Stalin's dacha in Kuntsevo (opposite the new university). We went up to the gate in silence; there was barbed wire on both sides, with a trench and fence; and dogs.

Finally we were in the house (a large pavilion with spacious rooms furnished with long ottomans; the walls were decorated with polished panels). The minister of health (the new one, A.F. Tretyakov; Ye.I. Smirnov had been removed in December in connection with an audit of the ministry conducted by a government commission, and had been transferred to a military department in his earlier line of business as chief of the military sanitation directorate), Professor P.Ye. Lukomskiy (chief therapist at the Ministry of Health), Roman Tkachev and Filimonov, and Ivanov-Neznamov (footnote: Professors R.A. Tkachev and I.N. Filimonov were eminent neuropathologists, docent V.I. Ivanov-Neznamov was a therapist in the medical and sanitary administration in the Kremlin) were already in one of the rooms.

The minister told us that during the night of 2 March Stalin had suffered a cerebral hemorrhage with loss of consciousness, loss of speech and paralysis of the right arm and leg. The previous day Stalin had been working late into the night in his office. The duty officer of the guards had seen him behind his desk at 0300 (he had looked in through a peephole). The light had been left burning even later, but that was as usual. Stalin slept in another room but there was a divan in his office on which he often rested. At 0700 the guard had again looked through the keyhole and seen Stalin prostrate on the floor between the desk and the divan. He was unconscious. The patient was moved to the divan, where had been ever since....

The consulting physicians were interrupted by the appearance of Beriya and Malenkov (subsequently they always came and went only as a twosome). Beriya addressed us with some words about the misfortune that had befallen the party and our people and expressed the conviction that we would do everything within the power of medicine and so forth. "Bear in mind," he said, "that the party and government have absolute trust in you and you will have everything you need, and for our part we will ofer you nothing but complete agreement and help."

These words were probably uttered because at that time some of the professors—the "doctor-murderers"—were in prison awaiting the death sentence. The next day the

first government bulletin on Stalin's illness was published: "The best medical efforts are being applied to treat comrade Stalin," followed by a list of our names and titles; mention was also made of the fact that "Comrade Stalin's treatment is under the constant observation of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Government."

Stalin was lying awkwardly, short and somewhat fat, with his face distorted; his right extremities lay like limp stalks. The respiration was difficult, periodically quiet, and then stronger (Cheyne-Stokes respiration). The blood pressure was 210/110. There was intermittent arrhythmia. The leukocyte count was up to 17,000. Temperature was elevated at 38 degrees or higher.... Auscultation and percussion of the heart revealed no particular impairment, and in the lungs nothing pathological was found in the lateral and frontal lobes. The diagnosis, God help us, seemed clear enough: hemorrhage in the left cerebral hemisphere resulting from hypertension and arteriosclerosis. Plenteous treatment was indicated....

The consulting physicians decided to remain, and they telephoned their homes. We spent the night in a nearby house. Each of us took his turn over the patient's bed. Someone from the Central Committee Politburo was always at the patient's side, mostly Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Bulganin, and Mikoyan.

On the third morning the consulting physicians had to give Malenkov an answer to his question about the prognosis. Our answer could only be a negative one; death was inevitable. Malenkov gave us to understand that he had expected this conclusion even though he had hoped that the medical treatment might still save his life or prolong it for an adequate period. We understood: It was a question of the essential background for making preparations for the organization of a new authority, and at the same time preparing the public for it.

So then we issued the first bulletin on I.V. Stalin's state of health (0200 on 4 March). It contained ambiguous language: "A number of therapeutic steps have been taken aimed at restoring the body's vital functions." This, as it were, expressed in guarded form a certain hope of "restoration," that is, it was calculated to calm the country. Meanwhile messages were sent to all the members of the central committee and to the leaders of other party and soviet organs to come urgently to Moscow in order to discuss the situation in connection with the forthcoming death of the head of state.

Stalin's illness, of course, was commented on extensively both in our country and abroad. But as they say, only one step separates tragedy from comedy. In the medical institutions—the scientific council of the ministry, the presidium of the Academy, and some of the institutes—meetings were convened to discuss how to help in Stalin's treatment. Proposals were put forward for these or those methods, which it was suggested be forward to the consulting physicians. For example, in order to manage the hypertension, advice was given on treatment methods developed at the Institute of Therapy (and it was strange to read the recommendations that were sent to me—my own). Later they sent a description of a method for drug-induced sleep; but the patient was deeply unconscious, in sopor, that is, a deep sleep. Professor Negovskiy suggested that the respiratory disorder be treated with an artificial breathing apparatus that he had developed for resuscitating drowned patients and patients who had breathed poisonous gas; they even brought his apparatus to the house, but after he had seen the patient he agreed not to insist on his method (and then he "stuck" to the consulting physicians, which for him, as a party person, was interesting; however, he did not get to sign the bulletins and so his name never appeared in the newspapers).

Touching appeals and letters arrived in the mail. There were assurances of faith that the consulting physicians could save the life of the General Secretary, their father and teacher, entreaties to do the same, sometimes in threatening tone but more often in a spirit of trust and faith in the strength of Soviet medicine. Junior officers and Red Army people offered their blood for transfusion—to the last drop—and some wrote that they were quite prepared to donate their own hearts ("Just let the surgeons cut out my young heart and put it into Comrade Stalin")

It should be noted that before his illness, at least for the last 3 years, Stalin had not consulted with physicians for medical care; in any event, that is what the chief of the Kremlin medical and sanitary administration told us. Several years before, when living at his own dacha at Matsestaya, Stalin fell ill with influenza and was attended by N.A. Kipishidze (from Tbilisi) and M.M. Shikhov, who was working at the Balneology Institute in Sochi. They said that he was stern and mistrusting. In Moscow he had evidently avoided medicine. At his large dacha in Kuntsevo there was not even a pharmacy with first aid necessities; there was, among other things, no nitroglycerin, and if he had had an attack of angina pectoris he could have died from the spasms that two drops of the medicine would have prevented. Even so, they brought nurses in disguised as chamber maids and a doctor disguised as a colonel—72 people in a single year! No one knew how long he had been suffering from hypertension (and he was never treated for it). Svetlana his daughter, the intelligent and sympathetic young wife of Yu.A. Zhdanov, son of Zhdanov (a docent and chemist and a department chief in the central committee science department) told how to all requests to see the doctors "Papa categorically refused." Here I remembered the words said by Stalin to G.F. Lang when the latter lived with the sick Gorkiy: "Doctors do not know how to treat people. Down in Georgia we have many centenarians and they treat themselves with dry wine and wear a warm felt cloak."

Svetlana Yosifovna invited us to lunch and supper and tried with her simplicity and restrained courtesy not to make things excessively strained or to allow gloomy

silences. K.Ye. Voroshilov also dined with us; he seemed to be sympathetic, like an old father, and concerned about the illness of a man close to him.

Stalin's respiration was labored, and he sometimes groaned. Only for one brief moment did it seem that he was consciously looking at those surrounding him. Then Voroshilov leaned toward him and said: "Comrade Stalin, we are all here, your true friends and companions-in-arms. How do you feel, my dear?" But Stalin's glance expressed nothing and he again lapsed into sopor. In the night it seemed many times that he was dying. The next morning, 4 March, someone got the idea that on top of everything there might have been a heart attack. A young physician arrived from the hospital with an EKG machine and stated peremptorily: "Yes, an infarct." There was a commotion. Already a deliberate failure to diagnose a myocardial infarct had figured in the doctors' plot in the state leaders they had supposedly finished off. Now it was probably our turn... For up to now in our medical conclusions we had not indicated the possibility of a heart attack. And everyone in the world knows about this. Since he had been unconscious, of course, Stalin had been unable to complain of the pain that is so typical a symptom of a heart attack. The leukocyte count and the elevated temperature could also have indicated infarction.

The consulting physicians were undecided. I was the first to decide to take the bull by the horns: "The EKG changes are too regular for an infarct; they show up on all leads. These are cerebral pseudo-infarcts on the EKG. My colleagues from the Naval Medical Academy have also obtained these kinds of tracings in experiments involving open trauma to the skull. Perhaps they can also occur in insults."

The neuropathologists supported this; cerebral insult was in any event their main diagnosis—a cerebral hemorrhage—and it was clear enough to them. Despite the self-confident treble of the woman operating the EKG machine, the consulting physicians did not recognize an infarct. However, the diagnosis was now made to include a new feature: possible localized hemorrhage in cardiac muscle resulting from severe cardiovascular disorders against a background of hemorrhage in the cerebral basal ganglia.

On the morning of 5 March Stalin suddenly started to vomit blood; the vomiting led to a drop in the heart rate and the blood pressure fell. This symptom somewhat perplexed us: how could it be explained?

In order to maintain the falling pressure various drugs were administered. All the consulting physicians crowded round the patient and in the next room, and there was alarm and speculation. From the central committee, N.A. Bulganin was on duty. I noticed that he was looking at us suspiciously and perhaps with hostility. He looked splendid with his marshal's stars on his epaulettes; his face was a little puffy, the tuft of his beard jutting forward—a beard somewhat similar to the beard of Tsar Romanov, or perhaps a general of the period of the Russo-Japanese war. Standing at the divan he turned to me: "Professor Myasnikov, why is he vomiting blood?" I answered: "Perhaps it is the result of small hemorrhages in the wall of the stomach of a vascular nature, connected with the hypertension and the insult." "Perhaps..." he mimicked unpleasantly. "And perhaps he has a cancer of the stomach, Stalin. Look," he added with the suggestion of a threat, "with you everything is vascular, but the main thing you mis... " (he obviously wanted to say "misled" or "mistook" but he suddenly caught himself up short and finished up saying "missed").

We spent all day on 5 March injecting various drugs, writing up the diary and composing the bulletin. Meanwhile, the members of the central committee were gathering on the second floor: The members of the Politburo came in to see the dying man and people peered in through the door according to rank, reluctant to approach any closer even to their half-dead "boss." In any event I remember N.S. Khrushchev, also standing back at the doors, for even at that time the hierarchy was observed: first Malenkov and Beriya, then Voroshilov, then Kaganovich, then Bulganin and Mikoyan. Molotov was sick with influenzal pneumonia but he still came two or three times for a short visit.

An explanation for the gastrointestinal bleeding was written up in the diary and was also entered in a detailed epicrisis written up at the end of the day, when the patient was still breathing but expected to die at any hour.

Finally that hour came : 2150 on 5 March.

It was, of course, a very portentous moment. As soon as we had established that the pulse had stopped, breathing had ceased and the heart stopped, the leading figures of the party and government filed into the spacious room, with the daughter Svetlana, the son Vasiliy, and a guard. Everyone stood motionless for along time in solemn silence. I do not rally know for how long—about 30 minutes or more. A great historical event was undoubtedly taking place. A leader had died, a leader before whom the entire country trembled, and essentially in to one degree or other, the entire world. A great dictator, just recently all-powerful and inaccessible, transformed into a poor, pitiful corpse, that on the morrow would be cut to pieces on the pathologist's table... Then it would be transformed to ashes, like the corpses of other ordinary folk. Standing there in silence each of us probably had his own thoughts, but there was a common sense of the changes that must, that had to come in the life of our state and our people...

Something was going to have to change in our lives, probably for the better. For did not this ending bring to our lives a spirit of freedom and normal safety?...

On 6 March at eleven or twelve in the morning a postmortem examination of Stalin's body was conducted at the Sadovaya-Triumfalnaya in a wing of the palace building occupied by the biochemistry department of the 1st Moscow Medical Institute. Of the consulting physicians, only myself and Lukomskiy were present. There were some characters from the guard. The postmortem was conducted by A.I. Strukov, professor at the first Moscow Medical Institute, and those present included N.N. Anchikov (president of the Academy of Medical Sciences), professor of biochemistry S.R. Mardashev, who was to embalm the body, and pathologists professors Skvortsov, Migunov and Rusakov. We, of course, were worried about the postmortem: what about the heart? why was there bloody vomit? Everything was confirmed. There was no myocardial infarct (only the site of a hemorrhage was found)....

The serious hardening of the cerebral arteries that we saw during the postmortem examination of I.V. Stalin may raise the question of how the disease, which had undoubtedly developed over the previous several years, might have affected Stalin's condition and his character and his actions in those years. For it is common knowledge that arteriosclerosis of the cerebral vessels, leading to impairment of nourishment to the nerve cells, is accompanied by a number of disorders in the function of the nervous system. First of all a weakening of inhibition processes is seen in higher nervous activity, including differentiated inhibition. It is would be easy to see that Stalin's behavior showed losses of orientation—what was good, what was bad, what was useful, what was harmful, what was permissible, what was impermissible, who was a friend, who an enemy. In parallel the so-called deterioration of personality features would occur: The angry person would become vicious, the somewhat suspicious person would become pathologically suspicious and start to experience a persecution complex; this all exactly matches Stalin's behavior in the final years of his life.

It seems to me that when assessing eminent historical figures what is required is not only purely literary or psychological descriptions of them but also an analysis from the medical viewpoint; for they all become sick in one way or another, particularly at the end of their lives, and it is precisely in association with a disease that their behavior may to some degree be affected. I suggest that Stalin's cruelty and suspiciousness, his fear of enemies, loss of adequacy in assessing people and events, and his extreme obstinacy were all created to some extent by the arteriosclerosis of the cerebral arteries (or more accurately, it exaggerated these features). An essentially sick man was managing the state. He hid his disease and avoided medicines, and he feared it would be discovered. Sclerosis of the cerebral vessels develops slowly, over many years. In Stalin sites of encephalomalacia of long-standing origin were found. It is common knowledge that in this disease mental perception may not suffer at all, or only slightly. Therefore, such old men may retain many of the signs of mental activity at the proper level while other aspects of the mental sphere (particularly emotional responses) may alter significantly....

Several dozen (or hundreds?) of Muscovites also suffered because of the death of the dictator. On the first day following his death huge crowds of people moved into the center of Moscow near the House of the Unions. A terrible crush developed near the Tribuna and the Neglinnaya, columns of people collided with each other and people fell and were trampled, just as at the time of the Khodynka. The parallel itself was symbolic. This tragic story was a fitting finale for the deceased.

* U.S. 'Respect For Man' Provides Good Example

WA1807053 6 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 9, 1 Mar 89 p 14

[Article by Nikolai Moykin: "When You Wander, You Come Back Home"]

[Text] Every morning for 5 years I would enter the imposing UN Secretariat building in New York, and every evening I would leave it after work, passing a man in a smoky blue uniform—an American police officer. However, during the 5 years of my posting in the United States, not a single police officer ever required me (or any other UN employees) to show my pass to the headquarters of this most impressive international organization.

I later learned that the police who guarded the UN Secretariat had developed a special system for recognizing its workers through photographs. An observer of this system, in service at the Secretariat, must keep in his head the photos of all the workers (and there are thousands of them), so thoroughly that he can unerringly distinguish UN workers from visitors.

It was also explained to me that this system of control without verification of identification documents was thought up with the single purpose of avoiding inconvenience and fuss for people.

In short, it was thought up in order to provide elementary respect for man.

I returned from over the ocean long ago; for 12 years now, every morning I enter no less imposing, but not as tall, a building as the one in New York, a building in the center of Moscow, and in the evening after work I leave it, passing by a man in a smoky gray uniform—the police of my native land. And every time I must present my identification (pass). The guard knows me for some time now, by face and even by name. And I do not work out of some "post office box," but in an institution as strictly civilian and peaceful in its aims and mission as the UN Secretariat.

For what purpose was such a system of controlled pass checking thought up in my organization? Naturally, not to free people from extra inconvenience, fuss or annoyance. It was thought up for only one reason: to thwart accidents. Basic respect of the individual is of no matter here. But does not our society, including our department, consist entirely of individuals?

The evidence of the disrespect to our own fellow countrymen becomes even more clear and is accepted with even more offense and bitterness when we compare it with the facts which I observed in similar situations in others states.

I am certain that any one of us has experienced inconvenience and gotten nervous upon encountering a sign: break from 13:00 to 14:00; lunch from 14:00 to 15:00; cleaning 16:00 to 17:00, etc. This is convenient and good for a small group of tradespeople, but what an inconvenience and disrespect toward tens of millions of people across the country, all at once!

In America, the lunch hour essentially does not exist. There is no lunch hour in supermarkets, trade centers, restaurants, pharmacies, banks and other public institutions. In the big cities, grocery stores and even movie theaters open 24 hours a day can always be found.

And doesn't the fact that in the States, a commuter train passenger who did not have time to purchase a ticket at the window is not fined testify to a respect for man? He buys his ticket while the train is moving, not getting out of his seat; the conductor himself sells it to him. Here, an unticketed rider is a "malefactor," and is immediately dragged away by two or three controllers, and they exact some ungodly fine from him. The average Soviet public transport "freeloader" pays an even higher price for "crime:" public humiliation and nervous scolding.

Incidentally, not everyone is in a hurry here. During the international forum, "For a nuclear-free world, for the survival of mankind" which took place in Moscow in 1987, I was asked to accompany two Canadian guests to the theater, and then to a restaurant. The delegates were being fed at the hotel "Kosmos." We sat down at a small table in the "Galaktika" restaurant, but had to wait 20-30 minutes before our order was taken. Thirty more minutes passed before we got our first course. The restaurant was almost empty.

After supper, one of the Canadian guests, writer B. Broadfoot, a gray-haired old man, a former journalist who has traveled all over the world, said, "What disrespect for people! If a Canadian waiter had served us in Vancouver or Montreal the way we were served here today, he would not have to get up early the next day—he would have been fired the night before."

In my observation, in any government, the citizen always stands in the forefront. When I first landed in New York at John F. Kennedy International Airport, the pilot announced over the intercom, "Your attention, please, ladies and gentlemen. You have arrived in the United States of America. Welcome to our country! American citizens will exit first." At the Sydney airport, I noted the special signs which separated holders of Australian passports from other arriving passengers. They go through all customs procedures more quickly, without mixing with foreigners.

Of course, such privileges extended to fellow countrymen do not presuppose inhospitality, or a disrespectful attitude toward representatives of other countries. The thing is, there should be no obsequious attitudes toward foreigners without respecting oneself.

Here, for example, the best hotels are built and set aside for foreigners. And for citizens with passports bearing the hammer and sickle, entry to the luxe hotels of "Intourist" is almost always and everywhere closed.

But no, incidentally, sometimes they do let our own in. For example, in off-season. They let us in reluctantly, as if doing us a great favor. And the doorman conducts himself as if he were a member of some elite special forces, dressed in civvies (so as not to scare off the foreigners), as if he were guarding the country's most secret site (from his fellow countrymen).

One of my first discoveries in the United States was that there are no foreigners there. Not in the literal sense, of course. It is simply that no one is set apart, that they themselves don't set themselves apart from the general ethnic conglomeration of America.

As far as I know, Americans never opened special stores for foreigners like our "Berezki," have not built for them separate hotels, restaurants, offices, hospitals and clinics. They have not leased the homeland's best passenger ships to foreign companies, as we do; they have not created great companies such as "Intourist" for servicing the "overseas guests," or entire departments like our UPDK (department for diplomatic corps service), as we have.

Thus, the situation is that foreigners have access to the Bolshoy Theater and the Armory on any day, and the poorly connected Muscovite or visitor to the capital can only dream about them. We put almost all of Yalta and Pitsunda at the disposal of foreigners, and our "savage" compatriots fill up the sweltering municipal beaches of Sochi and Alushta in greater numbers every year. A foreigner can get any internal flight on Aeroflot without waiting, while a Soviet citizen cannot get a ticket even with a certified telegram on the death of a relative.

Our rich country is experiencing a shortage of many products, services, specialists, etc. Yet among all these types of deficits is one which cannot be inventoried or manufactured. This is the deficit of respect for the individual. And respect for the individual is one of the

main postulates of socialism. Perhaps this is the most universal social-moral value on Earth, one which knows neither geographic, nor political, nor any other border.

For it is the individual who is the prerequisite and guarantor of society's moral health. And moral health is the searchlight on the ship of our restructuring, without which we will hardly reach our desired harbor.

* Vladivostok Public Protests Nuclear Carrier

WA18290106 Moscow VODNYY TRANSPORT in Russian 9 Feb 89 p 1

[Article by A. Mikhasenko, VODNYY TRANSPORT correspondent: "Public Protests Over the Arrival of 'Sevmorput' Lighter Carrier"]

[Text] In late February, a unique nuclear giant will cast its anchor at the Vladivostok roadstead. The Far East lighter carrying system will be greatly augmented. However, this event is no cause for particular enthusiasm among the citizens of Maritime Kray. There will be no band, no flowers and no traditional greetings. Most likely, there will be other things....

An excerpt from a statement to the local TV station by candidate people's deputy of the USSR, general director of the "Dalpribor" Association V. Pallo: "My position is that Zolotoy Rog [Bay] is no place for 'Sevmorput.'" From Nakhoda, V. Zhila, chairman of the executive committee of the Vrangel settlement council, appealed to the management of the Far East Shipping Line: "We consider the servicing of 'Sevmorput' in the Eastern Port unacceptable."

In Magadan, 150 longshoremen signed a letter of protest against the call of the nuclear vessel at Nagayevo Bay.

What has been the cause for this unanimous unfavorable reaction by the populace? The reasons are clear. This is a natural reaction by people to the most recent events associated with the development of the nuclear power industry—Chernobyl, and reports on the mothballing of several nuclear power stations. The passions have not yet died down after the controversy over the expediency of building a nuclear power station in the maritime area, and suddenly the decision by the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet came to send a nuclear ship to the basin.

First deputy chief of the shipping line G. Pikus says: "We did not order the vessel. On the contrary, as long as several years ago, when Yu. Volmer was the chief of the Far Eastern Maritime Shipping Line, we made our objections known to the ministry. The operation of this ship, whoever its owner will be, will result in losses going into millions. However, they did not take heed. Still, there is no cause for panic. We will sort out technical problems, and sign a contract with the owners of the lighter carrier, the people from Murmansk. As far as ecology is concerned, the 'Sevmorput' is built taking into account all the latest requirements for the nuclear fleet. In principle, it is an ordinary vessel."

Georgiy Ivanovich gave us a detailed enumeration of the characteristics of the vessel: powerful radiological protection system, double sides, and triple bottom guarantee safety in case of the most severe accident. The nuclear power plant is manufactured taking into account the requirements of an international commission on radiological protection and the safety code of seagoing commercial craft. Even if a giant such as the 50,000 [DWT?] tanker "Sofiya" or the icebreaker "Arktika" rams the lighter carrier at full speed there will be no reactor accident. According to its design, the "Sevmorput" will be one of the ecologically cleanest ships in the world. This is why there are no restrictions on its port calls and operation.

In a word, the degree of risk is reduced to a minimum. Why does the public not share the optimism of specialists then? Because until recently not only the rank-and-file citizens but even specialists of the shipping line did not have objective and complete information. As G. Pikus himself admitted, documentation came from Moscow after an ultimatum had been made. The ministry operated in the best traditions of the time of stagnation, making decisions behind closed doors and shrugging off public opinion. Both in the center and in the field they did not only fail to consult the people but did not even talk to them. Not just the housewives and retirees turned out to be beyond the scope of glasnost. The lack of information led to protests by workforces.

"Brigades refuse to work the ship. Personally, I do not have any information," complains P. Zaikin, secretary of the party committee of the Vladivostok Merchant Port.

The party organizer is not the only person who does not have information. We ascertained this once again during our visit to a meeting at the Vladivostok Port. An item about the preparedness of the enterprise to receive the nuclear vessel was reviewed. Despite the fact that merely a couple of days remained until the arrival of the "Sevmorput," the specialists had a good number of questions:

"We need more precise radiation-monitoring equipment. When will it be delivered?"

"Previously, there was no mention of adapting the lighter carrier for container transportation in Vladivostok. Whose decision is this?"

"Let us assume the worst—a radiation leak. Will we be able to evacuate the people rapidly? After all, about 2,000 people work at the port on one shift."

We may assure you that exhaustive answers were given to most of the pointed questions, despite extreme situations with a probability of almost zero being considered.

The conclusion of the meeting was that receiving [the ship] was possible. Incidentally, this was confirmed to us by the chief of the civil defense headquarters of the city, Captain 1st Rank V. Kurnosov.

Let us say that for the citizens of the kray center the problem does not exist anymore. However, other ports are also a part of the lighter carrier system, namely Magadan, Vostochnyy, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy. Are they prepared?

We asked S. Cherednichenko, chief of the port service of the Far East Shipping Line, about this at the same meeting.

Sergey Vasilyevich assured us: "Prepared by 99.9 percent."

In light of that, how should we regard the action of the labor force at Vostochnyy and the longshoremen in Magadan? Do the protests turn out to be groundless? What is this? Is it the desire to "tuck away" the troublesome vessel out of sight just in case, camouflaging this by the imaginary concern for the safety of people, a manifestation of group egoism and reluctance to use the fruit of technical advancement, or reluctance in the field to believe the favorable and hopeful information from the management?

Our first call goes to deputy chief of the port of Magadan N. Petelin: "We are not prepared to receive the 'Sevmorput.' We still do not have radiation-monitoring equipment, decontaminating solutions, special protective paste. We urgently need two tugboats with a capacity of 2,500 HP, as well as four container trucks. We don't have them, and I do not know when they are coming."

In Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, chief of the port R. Bashirov took the phone: "We cannot receive the nuclear vessel. The industry institute 'Soyuzmorniiproyekt' has not prepared an emergency response plan. Up-to-date radiation-monitoring equipment is lacking. Purely technological issues have not been resolved either, namely, the construction of a lighter holding and storage area."

Deputy chief of the port of Vostochnyy L. Bochkov also notified the ministry of his inability to receive the lighter carrier. According to his radio message, the port is lacking similar documentation and similar radiation-monitoring equipment.

Solving all of these problems depends to a large degree on the headquarters of the industry. Alarming messages from the field are no novelty for the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet. As early as November of last year, a well-attended meeting of industry specialists chaired by the chief of the Main Maritime Administration N. Tsakh (currently, deputy minister) was held in Vladivostok. At the meeting, all the above problems were not only brought up, but specific assignments were given and deadlines were set. It is coming out now that the decisions on many issues remained on paper. Somehow, all the confusion does not fit within the 0.1 percent mentioned by Comrade Cherednichenko.

The example of the situation with the lighter carrier "Sevmorput" once again shows us that the absence of glasnost, of required information, may torpedo any technical concept, even the most progressive one. Undoubtedly, if the degree of glasnost were at the level of the planned degree of safety, the public would know all the pros and cons, and collective protests would not come about. The people would have insisted on overcoming departmental estrangement and resolving everything in advance, including even the most insignificant issues. After all, it took 5 years to build the ship. At present, it is hard to solve an entire host of problems on short notice.

It is not only the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet that bears responsibility for the current situation. Who else but the Soviet authorities and the trade unions should have informed the populace in advance, extinguished the unnecessary passions, and repudiated the information of "the ladies' grapevine?" Meanwhile, the truth was substituted for with rumors and speculation on the level of "what if this thing is gonna blow?" Two articles published in the kray press and signed by N. Dronov, engineer of the port service of the shipping line, and DNIIMF [Far Eastern Research Institute of the Maritime Fleet?] S. Zelmanov were based mainly on emotions, and only fanned the flames. We called Deputy Chairman of the Vladivostok City Executive Committee in charge of transportation B. Fadeyev and asked for a meeting.

"I know no more than you do," answered Boris Viktorovich.

It is a pity.

Nakhodka Soviet Supports Barring

PM0603115189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Balakirev followed by comment from A. Zhurakov, chief of the I.V. Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Energy nuclear powered vessels safety laboratory: "A Meeting Without Applause Awaits the Nuclear-Powered Ship 'Sevmorput' in the Far East"]

[Text] Vladivostok—The 260-meter giant built in our country at a cost of R156 million and without counterpart in the world is now bound for Vladivostok. But debates have flared up in the Far Eastern ports: What is the impact of the atomic lighter carrier [likhterovoz] on the economic and ecological plane? Is it a boon to the region or an impermissible luxury? People do not conceal their alarm, especially in connection with the power plant. The event was a sudden one for them. Now

specialists of the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet are, belatedly, alas, explaining that the "Sevmorput" fully complies with the international safety code for nuclear-powered merchant ships. They say that danger to the coast and to people has been ruled out in any accidents.

But other questions logically arise. By the very fact of its appearance the nuclear-powered vessel makes additional demands on the ports' technical equipping.

"It seems to me the ministry has committed an error in deciding to send the 'Sevmorput' without consulting with the territory," Magadan Gorispolkom Chairman G. Dorofeyev says. "Yes, the lighter carriers' degree of reliability is high. But our littoral zones are virtually unprepared to receive it. Anything could happen: We are in the Far North and natural cataclysms are common...."

Far further south, in Nakhodka, a session of the city soviet supported the population's demand that the "Sevmorput" not be allowed into Vostochnyy port. It is not only a question of the mood of people, who need prompt, exhaustive information leaving no room for false interpretations. The port is not properly provided with instrumentation and the necessary staff for specific work. To this day the port workers have received no reply from the head planning institute to the question: What are the plans for eliminating the consequences of potential accidents?...

M. Rabkanov, chief of the Vladivostok sea trading port, speaks:

"The nuclear-powered lighter carrier is indeed very reliable technically. In addition, alongside the nuclear plant it has a conventional plant which can be used for entering ports. That is, it complies with world standards. And on this plane I am not afraid of it: We have instruments and measures to safeguard entry have been elaborated. But I am opposed in principle to the lighter carrying system. It is absolutely loss making. I am opposed to gigantomania under conditions where we lack a fleet of ships with a tonnage of 5,000 tonnes. Instead of one nuclear-powered giant I would suggest a number of practical and very necessary small ships costing the same amount...."

...The debate lasted about 3 hours at the Maritime branch of the geophysical society, whose small auditorium could not accommodate all who wished to enter. But here's a unique feature. At the height of the debates the chairman asked whether there were any responsible workers from the party organs and local soviets or candidate people's deputies in the auditorium. The auditorium responded with silence. [Balakirev report ends]

The IZVESTIYA correspondent asked A. Zhurakov, chief of the I.V. Kelqhatov Institute of Atomic Energy nuclear-powered vessels safety laboratory, to common on the situation with respect to the nuclear-powered ship "Sevmorput."

"I believe the basis of the problem is that people are not informed," Aleksandr Mikhaylovich says. "With the normal operation of the lighter carrier, as with all nuclear-powered ships, the cleanliness of the environment is assured absolutely. About the consequences of possible accidents. First, even a direct collision from another ship against the nuclear compartment cannot harm the nuclear plant of the 'Sevmorput'—so solid is the structural shielding in the region of the reactor room.

"Second, the lighter carrier is virtually unsinkable, even if two compartments in succession are flooded. But if this misfortune were to occur (which of itself is unlikely) the dangerous elements would still not enter the sea. As an example I can cite the sunken U.S. submarines 'Thresher' and 'Scorpion'—there is not a trace of increased radioactivity in the region where they went down.

"Third, we must consider the special nature of the ship's reactor. Its fundamentajzdifference from the Chernobyl high-power pressure-tube reactor is that the operator cannot accelerate it to a critical state, as happened at the Chernobyl AES. That is simply ruled out by virtue of the reactor's physics.... In brief, from the viewpoint of radiation safety the 'Sevmorput' is a sufficiently reliable and safe system. Like the four other nuclear-powered vessels—the icebreakers 'Lenin,' 'Arktika,' 'Sibir,' and 'Rossiya,' which have been operating without accidents to their power plants.

Economic

Energy Official Talks About Oil Production

Cites Plan To Cut Oil Exports

LD0603132189 Moscow TASS in English 1309 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—"The Soviet Union shares the efforts of non-OPEC petroleum-exporting countries to achieve stable oil prices acceptable to exporters and importers," Grant Margulov, first deputy head of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Fuel-Energy Complex, told a news conference here on Monday.

He said that on such a basis the Soviet Union was ready to cooperate and undertake possible solidarity actions with regard for its own oil exports.

Explaining the Soviet government's decision to cut its oil exports for freely convertible currency by five per cent in the first six months of 1989 compared with 1988, Margulov said that this reduction would amount to approximately 180,000 barrels (about a thousand barrels a day).

Answering questions, he emphasized that this measure should not cover the existing agreements and Soviet oil exports to socialist countries which build its relations with the Soviet Union on a long-term basis. At present,

the socialist countries are now discussing deliveries of fuel and energy resources to prepare for the coordination of their economic development programmes for the next five-year period. None of the sides is going to reduce its fuel- energy exports, Margulov said.

Touching upon the prospects of international oil and gas cooperation, the news conference, attended by Soviet ministers, experts and scientists, was told of the urgent need to search for new methods to increase oil extractions from currently developed deposits. With the present level of technological development, the Soviet Union and other countries leave more than half of their liquid fuel underground.

Soviet experts hope for active and mutually beneficial cooperation with neighbouring countries to explore energy resources in Eastern Siberia and the Far East. As with the search work on the shelves of northern seas, the Soviet Union is relying on its own potential, but does not exclude joint development of boring equipment.

Margulov expressed the Soviet Union's readiness to promote mutually-beneficial contacts with OPEC countries.

He said that the Soviet Union had analysed world oil prices before drawing up its new energy programme. Soviet experts predict two possible outcomes: Either oil prices will stand at 16-20 dollars per barrel until the end of the century and then start rising moderately, or the moderate price rise will begin in 1993-1995.

Gives Details of Draft Energy Program

LD0603180689 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—The Soviet Union's own energy resources meet and will continue to meet needs of the national economy in full, said Grant Margulov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Bureau on the Fuel and Energy Complex.

The Soviet official was speaking at a news conference held here on Monday by the Soviet Government's information department.

Margulov emphasised that perestroyka, or restructuring, was moving deeper into the country's economy and new economic management methods were coming into use.

At the same time, new approaches to developing this important economic branch were required. The era of easy-access, cheap energy is over, Margulov observed. And the Soviet government's policy is geared toward restructuring the fuel and energy balance.

A draft comprehensive energy programme will soon be published for public discussion. The draft envisages extensive use of various resources, including fossil fuel, renewable energy sources, hydroelectric power and nuclear energy.

Measures have been designed to improve coal quality, creating ecologically clean and safe electric power plants and manufacturing a new generation of power equipment.

Nonetheless, oil and natural gas will remain the country's staple sources of energy. Soviet Oil Minister Vasiliy Dinkov and Gas Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said that their share will grow to 73-75 per cent by the turn of the century.

These branches will develop in different ways. Oil production, estimated at 624 million tonnes last year, will stabilise, while gas output will continue to grow.

All accessible resources have not been depleted, with more than three-quarters of the entire oil production taking place in remote parts of Siberia and the extreme north. Building up fuel production in those regions calls for fundamentally new technologies. One of the top-priority directions in oil extraction is the development of oil deposits in the Caspian lowlands where oil can be pumped out along with gas sulfur and pure hydrogen.

As to old deposits, oil prospecting is continuing in those areas. There are fair prospects for off-shore oil production in the Caspian Sea near the Azerbaijani capital Baku.

* Foreign Exchange Auctions, Ruble Convertibility

WA18200222 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by S. Semenov, candidate of economic sciences: "The Ruble at a Hard Currency Auction"]

[Text] The question of the ruble's convertibility is not as complicated as it is delicate. It could be made convertible even now. According to USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member P. Bunich, all that is needed is to discard the feeling of false patriotism and establish a realistic rate. It would seem that we have everything in order as far as the former condition is concerned, but the latter is fairly complicated.

The rate of a monetary unit, that is, its price expressed in the hard currency of another country, depends upon the demand and offer developed for it in the market. A need for rubles arises among foreign business people when they plan to obtain our industrial, agricultural, or cooperative sector products, etc. Although this has been written about more than once, it bears repeating that unfortunately, for now, with the exception of energy resources, timber and certain raw materials, we have nothing to offer on the foreign market. The forms of

collaboration being developed today, such as joint ventures, production cooperation with foreign firms, compensatory deals and free enterprise zones are called upon to raise the competitiveness of Soviet goods. According to partners in capitalist countries, the main hindrance on this route remains our non-convertible currency unit. This condition does not allow profit in rubles to be converted into hard currency, to be exported and used to purchase on the foreign market all that is necessary for the operations of these same joint ventures.

The resolution adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers in December of last year on the further development of foreign economic activity contains concrete measures whose implementation must to some extent further the creation of conditions for introducing convertibility to our currency unit. In the first quarter of the current year, the Ministry of Finance and the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity must present concrete proposals for phased development of partial convertibility of the Soviet ruble into foreign currency. And by the year's end, a proposal for the value, a system of establishing and utilizing the ruble's foreign currency rate. It has been decided to apply the new hard currency rate to accounts in foreign economic operation starting January 1991.

Of course, I foresee ironic discourse about the reform of the hard currency system being postponed for another 2 years. However, it is hardly possible to agree with the skeptics. After all, in the sphere of foreign business, every false step entails an intensification of phenomena of stagnation in the development of our country's economy. Therefore, I agree with those scientists and practicioners who propose a phased transition (via "internal" convertibility and convertibilty within the member nations of CEMA) to the convertible ruble, and its free exchange for hard currency of capitalist countries. Concurrent with increasing our products competitiveness on the foreign markets, work must be conducted to equalize prices on the world and domestic market.

Free exchange of the ruble for convertible hard currency presupposes the presence of a domestic hard currency market. Such a market has already been created and is operating in a number of socialist countries. The resolution of 2 December 1988 permits Soviet enterprises and organizations to freely exchange, sell, and purchase resources of hard currency funds for Soviet rubles, at agreed prices, at hard currency auctions organized by the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity. Just what does this represent?

Let us listen to the specialists qualified to speak on this issue. In a discussion with me, head of the department of economic analysis and development of banking activites of planned economic management of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, A. Zelenov, emphasized "if someone hopes to see a lot of money for sale at our auctions, and an auctioneer with a gavel shouting 'who will bid higher?' and buyers gathered together, raising the price, then he will be disappointed. There will be none of that."

It is planned that such auctions will be held periodically, depending on the presence of hard currency funds for sale. Included are the national hard currencies of the socialist states maintained there in accounts in the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, the hard currency accounts of state, cooperative and other organizations permitted to be sold by the auction committee, and finally, resources derived from centralized sources.

The auction committee, comprising representatives from Gosbank, the Ministry of Finance and USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, is entrusted with the organization and conduct of hard currency auctions, as well as the resolution of disputes.

Information of the conduct of auctions will be published in the press and broadcast by the mass media 30 days before they are conducted. Bids for participation in the auction must be submitted no later than one day in advance.

The initial rate, according to which one or another hard currency will be sold, will be established by the auction committee in accordance with the seller. It may not be lower than the official rate of the USSR Gosbank. Bids will be fulfilled by the degree of reduction of the rate offered to the buyers, starting with the highest sum of sale until exhaustion of the appropriate foreign currency, or the fulfillment of all bids. All bids coming to the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity will be opened simultaneously on the day of the auction.

A familiarity with the conditions of the conduct of hard currency auctions would lead one to think that they can hardly fulfill the function of a domestic hard currency market under conditions of the free convertibilty of the ruble. However, it is indisputable that their institution is a substantial step in the restructuring of foreign economic relations.

Such a source of hard currency resources is much needed by the majority of Soviet enterprises and organizations. In the long run, for many of them, it will remain the only channel for receiving hard currency, which may be used to obtain imported equipment, licenses for the latest technology, for covering the expenses of specialists' foreign business trips and for other purposes. In addition, the enterprises themselves will learn the basics of functioning with foreign hard currency.

Unfortunately, the positive side of foreign currency auctions ends here. But questions arise further on. It is apparent even to the non-specialist that from the very start, these auctions will experience insufficiency in foreign currency funds, first and foremost in the freely convertible hard currency, and to a lesser extent in

transferable rubles and the hard currencies of socialist and developing countries. As a result, under the influence of supply and demand, the rate of the ruble will begin to be less than the actual level, although it will more likely be even closer to it than is today's official rate. To support the ruble's rate, and to a greater degree, to satisfy the buyers' needs for foreign currncy, hard currency resources of centralized funds may be put up for auction. It is possible that this measure will reduce the speculative effect and bring the rate of the ruble closer to an optimal level.

In my opinion, the shortcoming of hard currency auction is that their occurence will depend on the accumulation of offers for selling hard currency funds. Under these conditions, the buyer will be uncertain of both the periods for obtaining the funds, and that the rate they are offering will "win." This is where the real threat of an artificially inflated "effective" course lurks.

With accumulated experience, things should go further: a permanently active hard currency market, which will allow the waiting period for fulfilling buyers bids to be shortened. When such operations are realized, the intermediary role of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity may be excluded, since legislative acts taken allow enterprises and organizations to agree among themselves directly on the conditions, for example, of the different hard currency funds belonging to them. However, practice shows that such deals are not yet sufficiently widespread.

A continously active market, in comparison with an auction, must create more benevolent preconditions for the introduction of the convertible ruble, and the determination of a more realistic exchange rate for our hard currency. However, it seems to me that even here we nevertheless cannot avoid the market influence of speculation, since under the conditions of a general insufficiency of hard currency funds in the country, the demand for them will exceed the supply.

A continuously active domestic hard currency market, and a gradual increase of the volume of centralized hard currency funds operating within it will allow in the final account for a crossover to the market providing for all of enterprises' needs. In such a situation, foreign currency will be obtained only by those who really need it. With maintenance, the wasteful spending of state foreign currnecy by enterprises and organizations will end. This is especially important under the conditions where Soviet firms began to establish direct contacts with foreign counterparts. They themselves determine the actual demand in foreign hard currency, considering both the quantity and quality and the consumer aspects of the goods acquired.

The operations of such a market may become a precondition for the introduction of the convertible ruble.

* Ministry Hinders Personal Computer Industry

WA18200228 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by L. Sorin, professor, doctor of technical sciences: "They Have Miscalculated on the Computer"]

[Text]

A Letter to the Editor.

With each passing year the "Kvant" plant is building up its production of personal computers.

To this end it is essential to provide material resources, including the printers. Production of printers is the responsibility of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems. And here there are constant gaps that are having a tragic effect on the fulfillment of plan targets and contractual obligations. The plant now finds itself in a serious financial position. In 1988 it had to pay fines to the tune of R26,824 for delivering personal computers that did not have printers.

This state of affairs is not only affecting the financial position but also the mood of the labor collective. A new year has started but we still do not know how we shall meet our contractual delivery schedules in 1989 since the plant has not been informed about funding allocated for printers, and even less about actual fulfillment.

The labor collective council considers it essential to note that the "Kvant" plant is one of the few enterprises in the country equipped with expensive automated and robot equipment at world levels. It is therefore particularly important to insure uninterrupted and regular deliveries of components to that plant.

[signed] V. Rodko, deputy chairman of the labor collective council at the "Kvant" plant.

L. Klimkina, secretary of the labor collective council at the "Kvant" plant.

The Opinion of a Scientist

In January 1986 a computerization program was approved that affected virtually every sphere of public life from school education to the management of the national economy. The first 1.1 million personal computers were to be produced by the end of the present 5-Year Plan. Obviously the computerization program is not a one-time campaign even if it is to last 5 years. In most advanced countries in the world such programs have been in place for 15 or 20 years. Properly speaking, they have become a permanent process, and computerization has become a daily norm of life in civilized society.

In the USSR fulfillment of the program was entrusted to four ministries: the Ministry of the Electronics Industry and the Ministry of the Radio Industry (for the computers themselves and the electronic parts of the peripherals), the Ministry of Communications (for monitors and display units), and the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems (printers, plotters, graphics input-output devices, and also diskettes). What was perhaps the most important part of the program was set for the 12th 5-Year Plan: Organizational work to create and develop the foundation of an advanced computer industry to the highest world standards, capable from the next 5-Year Plan on of producing annually 3 million to 5 million personal computers. Only given these kinds of rates shall we be able over the next two 5-Year Plans finally to bring our inventory of computers up to the level of the leading countries.

And what is the state of affairs now? The third year of the 5-Year Plan has ended and it is becoming obvious that all is not well with fulfillment of the program.

Right from the start, first in the Ministry of the Electronics Industry and then in Ministry of the Radio Industry and Ministry of Communications, they focused on the development of mass production and mobile, inertialess production. Along with large-scale modernization of enterprises and technological processes, the latest plants are being created in line with the ideology of full automation and robot-based computer production. Given all the existing defects, mention must be made of the most important thing, namely, that the three sectors have started in a planned way to develop the computer industry, and there is no doubt at all that by the end of the 5-Year Plan they will reach the level of mass production of personal computers. The pioneer here has been the "Kvant" plant.

And what about the fourth department? Unfortunately, the successes in the other three sectors are being devalued by the activity of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems. As a result, the computer program is threatened.

Let us examine what is going on in the bowels of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems. The main enterprises to produce printers, plotters, and diskettes were determined as long as 3 years ago. The program envisaged that by the end of the 5-Year Plan they would all be expanded, modernized, automated, and partly rebuilt, and thus, by the end of 1990 the foundation would have been created for the computer peripherals industry. Considerable funding was allocated for this purpose. Coming on line in 1988 through 1990, these enterprises were to have supplied the Ministry of the Electronics Industry and the Ministry of the Radio Industry with all the peripherals that they needed. This, we repeat, is what the program envisaged.

In fact, not one of these enterprises will go into production before 1991-1992, while some will not go on line until 1993. Here is a typical example: The Orel Computer Control Plant Production Association is the head enterprise for the production of printers. By the end of 1988 reconstruction and expansion of production capacities had not been completed; nothing had been automated, there was not even elementary mechanization of technological processes. The unjustifiably high level of manual labor had led to a situation in which labor intensiveness in the manufacture of printers was intolerably high and exceeded world standards by an order of magnitude. This is precisely why the cost of miniprinters manufactured by the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems is 15 to 20 times higher than their cost in the world market. The technical level and quality of peripherals are significantly below world standards. As a result, in the first 3 years of the 5-Year Plan not even the prerequisites for the organization of an industry for the mass production of peripherals have been created.

Here are the concrete results of work done by the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems. In 1987 some 107 printers produced, against a plan target of 6,500. Of the 500 plotters planned, not one was produced. In 1988 it was planned to produce 40,000 printers but no more than 700 or 800 were made. Of the 2,500 plotters planned only about 100 were produced. Mass production of diskettes did not start at all. According to figures from the State Committee for Information Science and Computer Equipment, 88 percent of the total number of printers planned for entire 5-Year Plan and 98 percent of all plotters must be produced in the remaining 2 years of the 5-Year Plan. The target cannot be met; it would take a miracle. Even the minister, M. Shkabardnya has no hope of this; he has reported officially to the USSR Gosplan that the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems will produce only about 80,000 printers instead of the 140,500 planned, and only 10,000 of the plotters.

The following question is apropos: What has the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems been doing for 3 years? The so-called direct contracts were set up back in 1986; under the terms of those contracts the CEMA countries were to acquire from enterprises of the Ministry of the Electronics Industry a component board and use it to build electronic control units and, using their own print mechanisms, to manufacture printers. We note one extremely important circumstance: in order to make one printer one set of electronic articles is used, and it is common knowledge that there are shortages of them both here and abroad. So in 1986 the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems decided to gain access to these deliveries. The essence of this "cooperation" is extremely simple: The Orel plant obtains from enterprises of the Ministry of the Electronics Industry all that it needs for the component board;

the electronic units are put together almost by hand (we have already talked about the quality of Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems products) and...the "cooperation" is payment in kind: Two units are exchanged for one foreign mechanism and then they gather together the necessary number of units and finally, with the help of that same "screwdriver" technology, "create" printers for use with the computers.

We emphasize that this is being done in deep secret from the Ministry of the Electronics Industry and this is understandable, for this kind of cooperation leads to the squandering of enormous numbers of electronics articles, of which there are great shortages in the country and which is a strictly funded output. Moreover, carried away by this very easy (at someone else's expense) method, the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems had to disrupt the most important task of the program, namely development of our own base for the mass production of peripherals. During the period 1987-1990 this ill-considered "cooperation" in barter would have cost the state by the squandering of articles in extremely short supply about R125 million in round figures.

But this is not enough. For 140,000 control units the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems would have received 126,500 mechanisms. In order to make the printers it is necessary to collect together another 126,500 units from the new and enormous number of electronic articles. Thus, as the result of the direct contracts we were obtaining printers for which one set was used. Now, in order to obtain one printer we must use three times more electronics articles. Even a foreign company that is the foreign partner of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control, evidently suspecting that something was wrong in all this immense generosity, canceled what seemed at first sight to be a very profitable contract.

Having wasted this time and finding itself no better off than at the start, the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems is trying to shift the blame elsewhere, displaying a creditable inventiveness in so doing. In June-August 1988 a flood of letters arrived in the Ministry of the Electronics Industry and "higher" organs: The leaders in the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems (deputy ministers V. Rybakov and A. Kuzmitskiy) were claiming that the Ministry of the Electronics Industry was failing to meet its delivery obligations and demanded insistently that in 1988 many hundreds of thousands more electronic items should be supplied. The assertions are totally unfounded: Way back in December 1987 in a joint protocol from the two ministries (signed by A. Kuzmitskiy) it was recorded that the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems had been allocated funding quite adequate to manufacture 40,000 printers during 1988, and that there could be no delivery shortfalls. And that given this, virtually all the enterprises of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems had raised spending norms for the components 30 to 40 percent, and in some cases by a factor of two or three. It is quite obvious that even though it wants to, in 1988 the Ministry of the Electronics Industry can in no way find three times as many electronics items above funding and has been forced to turn down this request. But it is precisely this rejection that the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems needs to justify the disruption of the computerization program.

Over the past 2 years there has not been perhaps a single meeting of the collegium of the State Committee for Information Science and Computer Equipment that has not discussed the intolerable attitude of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems toward implementation of the computerization program. All appeals to the minister, M. Shkabardnya, and the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machinebuilding have failed to yield positive results.

In the letter from the labor collective at the "Kvant" plant sent to the editorial offices, it is rightly stated that the task set for the plant by the computerization program to develop personal computers requires reliable work by the sectors. Otherwise would it be fair to impose fines on "Kvant," which despite everything is annually doubling its output of personal computers, and not on those directly to blame for the systematic failure to insure deliveries? Such measures would both be a manifestation of social justice and act as an economic "lever."

Ukrainian Bank To Finance Foreign Trade

LD0603114189 Moscow TASS in English 1035 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Kiev March 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya:

From April 1 this year, all enterprises of the Ukraine, the second Soviet republic by industrial potential (after the Russian Federation), will be granted a direct outlet to the external market. The Ukrainian Republican Bank, which is part of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activities, will take upon itself currency lending support or foreign trade operations.

"Of course, currency lending was practiced previously as well", Valentin Terpilo, chairman of the bank's board, told TASS.

"However, it is precisely in the conditions of an economic reform that all types of lending, including those in foreign currency, become really effective. Last year, for example, we issued about 4,000 million roubles worth of credits, which was 20 per cent more than in 1987".

Terpilo explained that the bank is now directly interested in an effective utilisation of credits issued, be it foreign currency or roubles. A timely repayment of bank loans and the payment of interest on them and consequently the position of the bank itself depend on the economic and financial stability of the borrower.

"We may issue credits to capable enterprises on easy terms and may lower interest rates for them", Terpilo pointed out.

"Soviet foreign trade organizations' branches in Odessa, Izmail, Uzhgorod, and Lvov and the republican foreign trade association Ukrimpex in Kiev are among our clients. Many joint enterprises and international associations operating in the Ukraine are within our sphere of operation."

* January-February Rail Performance Noted

WA18290117 Moscow GUDOK in Russian
1 Mar 89 p 1

[Article from statistical administration of the Ministry of Railways: "Ahead of Schedule"]

[Text] Rail transportation has completed the fulfillment of the plan for the first 2 months of 1989 in terms of the volume of dispatch of cargo more than a day ahead of schedule. It shipped an additional 13 million tonnes of national economic products, including 9 million tonnes or 70 percent of the cargo from the state order.

The state order was fulfilled for the entire products list with the exception of chemical and mineral fertilizers, for which the shortage exceeds 115,000 tonnes.

In excess of the plan we shipped more than 2 million tonnes of hard coal and grain, more than 1 million tonnes of ore, 1.3 million tonnes of ferrous metals, more than 600,000 tonnes each of petroleum and timber cargoes, and 400,000 tonnes each of cement and mixed feeds. Moreover, 10 million tonnes of locally planned cargo were shipped in excess of the plan.

The plan for overall dispatching of cargo was fulfilled on 21 railroads. Their shortages were: Tselina—more than 2 million tonnes; Kemerovo—1 million; Transcaucasian—600,000; Central Asian—500,000; and Azerbaijan, Northern, Western Kazakhstan, Gorkiy, Alma-Ata, and Southern Ural; 200,000-400,000.

The utilization of rolling stock and other technical transportation equipment improved somewhat. The state order for cargo turnover was fulfilled by 100.7 percent, and for passenger turnover—by approximately 101 percent.

According to preliminary figures, the labor productivity of workers employed in shipments as compared to an analogous period of last year increased by 1.7 percent and the production cost of the shipments decreased by 0.5 percent as compared to the planned amount. The branch as a whole received about R34 million in above-plan profit.

Agricultural

Gosagroprom Work, Bureaucracy Attacked

PM0603180589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by V. Somov under the rubric "Looking Ahead to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum": "Where Is the Gosagroprom Leading Us?"]

[Text] One thing I regretted at that moment: I did not have a movie camera with me. The old woman with a heavy bag standing on the corner of Orlikov Alley was crying out to be photographed. She was skillfully arranging bunches of purple radishes on an upturned box. Customers instantly swarmed in for their vitamins. One would then have had to shoot from above. Otherwise the viewer would not have been able to see the brisk trade going on in the middle of all the excitement. From above the camera would have followed the contented possessors of the gifts of spring hurrying to their work in the big building opposite. The next shot would have been a close-up of the building's entrance and the plaque. The viewer would perhaps have been astonished, but the reader has already guessed—the plaque's severe, straight letters read: "USSR Gosagroprom."

Professional movie people will forgive me for the banal, rather basic plot. But that is the unvarnished truth: In the competition between the old woman and Gosagroprom it is not the staid institution that wins the palm. I do not know the statistics for radishes, but we have still not managed to reach the prewar level production of potatoes, for example. Yet we dignify them with the name "second bread."

We have been unsuccessful with bread, too (I know I am not telling you anything new). For how many years, for how many 5-year plans have unattainable grain plans been crashing about our ears. Depressing stores, the switch to coupons in many parts of the country, and the rotting of one-third of the harvest—these are the realities.

"I am from Yaroslavl, where store shelves have not seen sausages or meat for a long time and where curds and cheese are rarities," polytechnic teacher N. Brazhnikov writes, ending his letter with far from tender words for the agro-industrial complex. B. Kozlov of Altay Kray is even more categorical: "Either an abundance of offices with thousands of people giving instruction while twiddling their thumbs or an abundance of meat and milk. There is no other way!"

Extremes? Ignorant citizens being extreme? But here is an extract from a decision by the Moskovskiy Rayon party conference in Kharkov: "Request the CPSU Central Committee to approach the USSR Supreme Soviet in the form of a legislative initiative with a draft law on the disbandment of the Gosagroprom—an inefficient, bureaucratic, monopoly organization which is in fact hampering the introduction of the lease system and the development in the countryside of individual labor organizations and cooperatives and other effective forms of peasant labor."

"Now they can blame us for everything, of course," some friends of mine in the agro-industrial complex say gloomily. "For decades the state was destroying the countryside and frustrating the peasants in every possible way. Now they have found a 'whipping boy,' the Gosagroprom, which has only been in existence anyway for 3 years."

We had a gentlemen's agreement: The agro-industrial complex people would speak openly and frankly and I would not name them in the paper. Officials are ultracautious. I can only say that I was talking with by no means ordinary economists.

"Do you want to know what the problem is?" one of my interlocutors looked deep into my eyes and flabbergasted me with his frankness: "Are all the people fit to be leaders of the agrocomplex?..."

"You mean all you have to do is install more worthy leaders," I said to my interlocutors, "and then we will be unable to avoid abundance?"

"Why joke? Consider this: No other sector of the economy has undergone the kind of upheavals that have occurred in the agrarian sector. We have calculated that this is the 28th restructuring in the countryside. As soon as we start to create something new, we knock it all down."

"And every upheaval sets the countryside back several years. The same now. We barely have time to create a new economic mechanism and arm the peasants with economic methods when the ax is poised over the agro-industrial complex once again."

"Forgive me, but who is supposed to arm the peasants with those methods?" I could not help myself asking. "After all, there are around 4,500 staff in the union Gosagroprom alone. There are nearly 200,000 specialists in the apparatuses of the agro-industrial complex of all other levels. Finally, there are a little under 2 million managers on the actual farms...."

"Now you are going to say that in Sweden or Denmark or somewhere there are only a few dozen employees at the agriculture ministry."

"Is that not so?" I tried to object.

"Certainly not! Small countries are one thing. But take the United States. At the agriculture department there are around 10,000 employees. Twice as many as in our Gosagroprom. What, don't you believe me?"

A diagrammatic layout of the Zamorskiy agrarian department appears on the table. I haven't a leg to stand on, as the saying goes. My interlocutors triumph. However, what are the officials there engaged in? If one is to judge from the names of the subdivisions, they are engaged in forecasting, long-term planning, control, and research. Almost one-fourth of the staffers are employed in the marketing service, in other words, in the sale of products. By and large there are 10 times fewer managers in U.S. agriculture than here. And their preoccupations are quite different—forestalling crises...and overproduction.

It so happened that on the same day I had occasion to listen to some farm leaders who had recently returned from the United States and Britain where they had been trying to fathom the farmers' experience.

"There is nothing supernatural in it!" said V. Aniskin, the chairman of the Gorkiy Kolkhoz near Moscow, in summing up. "But the people work efficiently and very productively. They are equipped with the newest equipment. What really strikes you is that the farmer is the master of the situation and all his partners work for him."

"The farmers do not have chiefs, controllers, nor clients oppressing them," added G. Markin, director of the "Zarya kommunizma" State Pedigree Breeding Station, another farm near Moscow. "But in our country it is still thought that we will go astray unless we have supervisors overseeing us. However, the only thing we want of the agro-industrial complex is a normal supply situation."

How many bosses have been simply imposed on the peasant? Any agroprom office bureaucrat thinks he is the law for the grain grower.

Anything goes, as long as the rayon agro-industrial organization appears to be excelling. Schedules arrive from the very top of the pyramid. The USSR Gosagroprom plans specify everything down to the last hectare and as regards all crops. The increase in yields is also defined in advance. The main indicators of the annual plan are a document which runs into many dozens of pages and contains thousands upon thousands of figures. From grain and meat to tobacco and cosmetics.

The Gosagroprom seeks to reach every farm with its orders, regulations, instructions, and recommendations. Not directly, of course, but via the republic agro-industrial committees. And then there is the oblast and rayon component. After the USSR Gosagroprom chairman has signed a document, it goes through 32 levels—as those in the know have calculated—before it reaches farms. And each of them endorses and duplicates it. Even on the kolkhoz or sovkhoz the chairman or director is separated

by four to five rungs on the administrative ladder from the machine operator or the milkmaid. The most valuable idea, the most sensible scheme is not likely to breach this bureaucratic wall without losing momentum.

Who will dare to censure agroprom officials for engaging in work that is of secondary importance or inessential? At USSR Gosagroprom Collegium sessions one question is more topical than the next. Or take departmental instructions. For instance, this one: "On Measures To Radically Improve the Quality of Food Products" of 31 December 1986. The appendix alone runs into 49 pages and contains an extensive action program. No doubt, many of its items have already been ticked off by its executors. However, has the quality of sausages or cheeses which resemble a bar of soap more than a food product improved in the slightest bit? Or has their range been expanded? People claim rather the reverse.

When you leaf through the Gosagroprom's paper "output" you can see that no serious problem has been omitted. It can also be stated equally definitely that no major problem has been resolved. The flood of paperwork has reached a record scope in the agro-industrial complex. Between its offices more than 5,000 types of so-called unsanctioned reports and bulletins are circulating. And they contain 8 million indicators!

Let me recall: Not so long ago we looked on with a presentiment of upcoming changes how the agro-industrial complex was being set up on the ruins of six ministries. It seemed then that the time was near when agriculture would no longer be pulled apart and divided between various departmental subdivisions. These hopes were not to materialize. It turns out that it was not departmentalism that was eliminated. On the contrary, it was consolidated—an inaccessible bastion, a stronghold of bureaucracy in the countryside was created. The ideas of agro-industrial integration were used skillfully to impose even tighter administrative strictures on the peasant.

However, by denying the countryside the right to economic democracy, the Gosagroprom sat down on a time-bomb. Departmentalism grew stronger. Its implementers are the sections which are the direct successors of the former ministries. At local level offices split up and multiply by the method of gemmation. The rayon selkhoztekhnika, of sad fame, has managed, in 3 years or so, to split into 4-5 organizations. And they all—repair, supply, power, and transport offices—are stacked vertically. At oblast and republic level they have already managed to take on the guise of associations and administrations.

The peasants were hoping that services would finally take their vital needs to heart. Meanwhile the Gosagroprom continues purposefully and methodically to remove the kolkhozes' and sovkhozes' partners from under their control. The opinion of the production workers is unanimous—the services, machine repairs, and supplies have deteriorated. In a letter to V. Murakhovskiy, chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, the workers of the Ufa dairy combine write, for instance: "Sometimes you might think that some kind of sabotage is at work."

The offices continue to try their best to grab what they can from the farms. New pretexts are invented for this purpose. Not so long ago suppliers were satisfied with a 12-percent profit on the price of the tractor. And now? I. Gushtok, director of the Chernovtsy "Prikordonnik" Sovkhoz, has turned to the USSR Gosagroprom for an explanation: Why has the rayon agro-industrial supply body charged the farm another R307 60 kopeks in various markups on fabricated pretexts over and above that margin? Six months later the sovkhoz obtained exactly the same tractor. Additional payments were exacted under different "articles" and for a different sum.

The peasants are outraged at the unscrupulously inflated prices for machines, fertilizers, and materials. It is even sadder that this policy—but by different methods—is being implemented by their own agroprom which is called upon to protect the countryside from the financial brigandage of its partners.

Machine operators have had occasion to see for themselves that the service and repair enterprises have inherited all that was worst from the rayon agricultural equipment association. Capital overhauls, as before, destroy factory models. The agroprom's repair industry, in which 50 percent more funds have been invested over the past 2 decades than in the development of agricultural machine building, continues to improve and flourish. A "Sredazagroremmash" science-and-production association has only just been set up, for instance.

The peasant's age-old dream of becoming economically the equal of processing workers has remained just a dream. Relations between the crop farmer and stockman and food workers are inequitable. Even in agricultural combines and agricultural firms. The efforts of the majority of chairmen and directors to acquire their own processing shops and keep the end product in their hands have not met with understanding from food industry strategists. The chief capacities are constructed and modernized mainly on asphalt.

With the Gosagroprom's tacit consent the system of purchases which is detrimental to the countryside has remained inviolate. Almost all the "free" grain is confiscated to the accompaniment of ardent appeals to master economic methods of management on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, just as during the rancorous years of food requisitioning. Economic planners are obliged at once, in the fall, to fill to overflowing the city bases which have become burial grounds for vegetables.

The Gosagroprom seems to have no intention of parting with the accumulation of all these absurdities which have been tormenting the countryside for a number of decades. These attributes of the administrative system have become an organic part of the committee's feverish paper activity. So is it capable of seriously changing anything and actively influencing the state of affairs in sectors and in the agro-industrial complex as a whole? At various times I have had occasion to chat with specialists in many of the committee's subdivisions. And how many times my interlocutors have honestly admitted:

"But what can I do?"

And this is not a mere pose. Indeed, is it not hopeless to venture to control the technology for growing particular crops or raising livestock by means of circular instructions from Moscow? However much agro-industrial workers fuss and whatever instructions or schedules of allocations they send down to grassroots level, the grainfield remains totally deaf to the loudest and most formidable commands. Just what decisions and resolutions have not been adopted on hulled crops! Buckwheat and millet are still in constant short supply. Flax growing has been "managed" to the point where production of long-stemmed flax has fallen below...the prerevolutionary level. Having taken over the baton from "Sortsemprom," the seed-growing subdepartment has never been able to rectify matters within its diocese even a little under its new signboard.

At a recent Gosagroprom Collegium session, when the past year's achievements were being summed up, Deputy Chairman G. Romanenko, who is in charge of questions of plant growing, took the floor. The sector owed produce worth R2.6 billion. Who was to blame? To judge from Gennadiy Alekseyevich's speech, chemical industry workers who supply fertilizers of the wrong sort and of poor quality. Maybe so. And yet the application of mineral fertilizers has tripled over the past 18 years! But the increase in harvests is paltry. Romanenko complained that control over antierosion measures has been relaxed. The directive reins must be drawn a little tighter, he said, and then technological discipline will increase.

Even if a circular instruction is sent down to every link leader, people's attitude toward the land will not change. Has the entire previous experience of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Gosagroprom not convincingly proven this? With directive reins the road leads only into an impasse.

Where is the way out?

I think the "Novomoskovskoye" people are closer to it than others. Having formed cooperatives, the farms together resolve there questions of processing, supply, construction, and repair of equipment. There is no longer a need for a rayon agro-industrial association or for instructions from the oblast or the republic.

"The cooperatives are able to resolve independently any questions of the production and processing of produce," A. Kopylov, first deputy chairman of the "Novomoskovskoye" Association, believes. "The rural worker does not need the present Gosagroprom together with all its administrative-bureaucratic system. Each level of management in the agro-industrial complex must have its own functions. Let the oblast resolve problems of seed growing, selection, and scientific backup, while the republics and the union take care of resources and economic regulators and forecast production."

"Give us the resources and don't stop us working!"—we hear these words increasingly frequently from rural leaders. From those who at their own risk throw down a challenge to the rayon agro-industrial association by leaving it. From those who wish to save the lessee and the cooperative member by pulling them out from under bureaucratic pressure. Rural folk crave true emancipation.

...A. Serkov, chief of the Main Economics Administration, delivered a brief report at the aforementioned Gosagroprom Collegium session. He mentioned, inter alia, that things have reached the point where sauerkraut and pickled cucumbers are purchased abroad. Some of the serious chiefs grinned, some burst out laughing. Not coffee, they said, not pineapples!... Now we really have descended, they said.

At whom was the esteemed meeting laughing? Where is it leading the countryside? People really don't feel like laughing.

* Ten-Day Weather, Crop Condition Report

WA18240062 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by T. Rossinskaya: "The Weather and the Planted Areas"]

[Text] On a large part of the European territory of the USSR the average air temperature, as before, was higher than the many-year average for the second 10 days by 5-7 degrees; and in Moldavia, the south of the Ukraine, in Rostov Oblast, a large part of Povolzhye, the Volga-Vyatka area, and the Komi ASSR—by 3-4 degrees. In the western part of Latvia and Lithuania, in the southwest of Belorussia, in the western and southern oblasts of the Ukraine, in Moldavia, and in a large part of Krasnodar Kray there was no snow on the fields planted with winter grain crops and perennial grasses. Renewed growth of the planted areas was observed on certain days here.

In the northern, the eastern part of the northwestern, and a large part of the territory of the central, Volga-Vyatka, and the western part of the Ural and Povolzhye regions the depth of the snow cover on the fields was, as before, 35-70 centimeters, and more in some places. The soil here was lightly frozen and in some places it had thawed.

The minimum temperature of the soil at the depth of the tillering node of winter crops remained in the range of from 0 to minus 2 degrees. The processes of plant perishing here continued.

The conditions for the wintering of fruit crops on the European territory of the USSR are satisfactory. In the south of Belorussia and in the western, southern, and parts of the central oblasts of the Ukraine and in Moldavia, warm weather caused a swelling of the buds of apple, pear, cherry, and peach trees, which is approximately 1-1.5 months earlier than usual. In the other regions of the European part of the USSR territory the fruit crops are in a condition of winter dormancy.

In the farming regions of Western Siberia and in the north of Kazakhstan the winter grain crops and perennial grasses were under a snow cover of 25-45 centimeters.

It has been cool in the Central Asian republics. In the majority of regions the low temperatures dropped from minus 8 to minus 15 degrees. To the east of the line of Tashkent-Samarkand-Kulyab the area is covered by snow.

Military

Yazov Addresses Newsmen on Restructuring

PM0603172589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Mar 89 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the Cutting Edge of Restructuring. All-Army Conference of Military Press Organ Leaders"; place not given]

[Text] The press and restructuring in the Armed Forces, and the role of the press at an important stage of social development and military building—these questions were the theme of an all-Army conference of military press organ leaders held 3 March.

Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, opened the conference and delivered a concluding speech.

The keynote report was presented by Lieutenant General G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Those present were addressed by Army General D. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense.

The press is rightly described as the tribune of restructuring, democracy, and glasnost, he noted. This is also fully applicable to the military press. It has an important role in restructuring the Armed Forces and implementing the CPSU's policy in the sphere of defense and the country's security and the fundamental stipulations made by the 19th All-Union Party Conference on ensuring defense building primarily through qualitative factors while unswervingly complying with the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense.

The main theme for the military press today, the defense minister stressed, is **the restructuring of defense building**, its transition from an extensive, cost-driven track to an intensive, economical track, and the establishment of the priority of qualitative factors in combat training, service, the mastery of equipment, the development of military theory and practice, and the improvement of troop structure. All the measures being implemented by the party in the sphere of defense and the country's security are geared toward quality. They are based on the new political thinking, which proceeds from the unacceptability of military means for resolving interstate contradictions and from the vital importance of the task of preventing war.

The implementation of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is a practical step along the path of the new thinking. The development of the Helsinki process is served by the talks on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in accordance with the Geneva agreements adopted on the USSR's initiative was a weighty contribution to reducing tension. The world press described M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech as a manifesto of the new thinking. And the USSR's ground-breaking decision, supported by a number of Warsaw Pact states, on a unilateral reduction of its Armed Forces was the beginning of a turnabout from the principle of overarmament to the principle of reasonable sufficiency.

The defense minister dwelt on the tremendous responsibility to the people and the party which command and political cadres and all Soviet servicemen bear for ensuring that the large-scale, half-million strong reduction in the Armed Forces has no impact on the country's defense capability and the troops' combat readiness. And the military press is called upon to use its inherent forms and means to mobilize Army and Navy personnel to fulfill the tasks facing subunits, units, and ships to a high standard. The attention of military journalists was drawn to the fact that the reduction of the officer corps will be effected primarily among those who have served their prescribed term and are entitled to a pension. A whole package of measures is being taken to ensure the social protection of servicemen discharged into the reserve. Openness, glasnost, and diligence in combating any manifestations of indifference, formalism, and bureaucratism are very important here.

Army General D. Yazov devoted great attention to **questions of military building** to which many of the mass media are currently drawing frequent attention. This process is absolutely natural. Our Army is part of society, and the processes of restructuring and renewal taking place in it, as in the country as a whole, give rise to

natural interest on the part of the people. Unfortunately, some items and articles bear the stamp of incompetence and haste and are aimed at sensation-seeking rather than resolving real problems. Sometimes you hear shallow arguments about reforming the Army or proposals to transfer it to a system of voluntary paid manning or manning based on territorial-militia principles. There are proposals to reduce the duration of active compulsory military service to 1 year, to replace existing formations and units with national formations stationed in the place where the draft contingent is resident, and so on and so forth. These are serious political questions of **vital importance** for the people. They require a responsible approach and comprehensive substantiation.

When people talk about manning the Army on the basis of voluntary hired recruitment for military service they usually cite the high professionalism of this kind of army. Yes, its quality in this respect is indeed high. But this approach overlooks the economic aspect of the question. The point is that a hired army is at least several times more expensive for society than an army manned on the basis of universal compulsory military service. This is because in every position in a hired army there are people who, irrespective of which category they fall into rank—soldier or officer—have to be paid an amount to maintain them which is not only comparable with the earnings of workers in other spheres of activity but substantially exceeds such earnings levels in view of the inevitable restrictions, hardships, deprivations, and dangers linked with military service. As for the purely military aspect of the question, this was demonstrated with the utmost clarity by V.I. Lenin, who noted at the beginning of the century that "the times when wars were fought by hired men have receded beyond recall into oblivion...." Because of the limited nature of the reserves that get trained under such a manning system, a hired army is incapable of conducting protracted military operations, particularly in defense of extensive territories. In other words, from a military viewpoint, too, it is ultimately not capable of ensuring the guaranteed resolution of the tasks of repulsing aggression and defending our motherland's borders. And, finally, a substantial flaw in a hired army is the direct dependence of its morale on material incentives. History testifies to the unreliability of depending solely on incentives of this kind, based on the extent of payment for service, when the high moral content of military service is replaced by material advantage and becomes devalued.

The arguments for a transition to a territorial-militia system for building the Armed Forces is equally far removed from present-day realities and the actual requirements of the country's defense. As is known, this kind of system presupposes that the Army consists of all draftable citizens of the state trained in military matters. Manning is organized on the territorial principle, in accordance with which troop formations are stationed in the places where the draftees live and work. They undergo training and retraining at periodic training camps.

To master modern weapons and means for conducting combined-arms combat under such a system there is a need for a ramified network of special training centers possessing appropriate material and technical facilities and highly skilled specialists. It is perfectly obvious that the creation of such a network would require extremely substantial additional expenditures of material and other resources. Moreover, the mass diversion of urban and rural working people to military training in the places where they are resident could not fail to have an impact on the economic indicators of labor collectives' work, especially under conditions of self-financing and team and lease contracts. But the most important thing is that a territorial-militia system objectively precludes both the mastery of modern weapons at short-duration periodical camps and, especially, the achievement of the necessary combat harmony among personnel and the requisite level of organization, discipline, and combat readiness—that is, everything that transforms a subunit, unit, or ship into a combat-capable organism. Militia units are stationed not where the situation requires but where they are manned and camps are held, and as a result they cannot gain control of a theater of operations and in fact are incapable of resolving the task of repulsing possible aggression and reliably ensuring the country's security.

The guaranteed fulfillment of these tasks is ensured by the existing system of manning the USSR Armed Forces on the basis of universal military service. In all the key posts and in all components of our Army and Navy, officers carry out military service. The vast majority are high-grade specialists in their jobs, true professionals. A quite sufficient standard of mastery of modern weapons and combat hardware in the mass military professions is ensured in the course of 2-3 years of compulsory active military service by soldiers, seamen, sergeants, and petty officers.

All the experience of Soviet military building, including the civil and Great Patriotic Wars, shows that with the manning and training of a regular cadre army on the basis of universal military service, the necessary level of field, air, and sea training, and military discipline is achieved and the quantity and quality of mobilization resources appropriate to the country's defense needs are ensured. It is also of some importance that the system of building the Armed Forces on the basis of universal military service and the nonterritorial principle of manning formations and units is the most democratic, and is permeated with the idea of social justice. Military service is a matter of honor for every Soviet citizen, and it is his sacred duty to defend a united socialist fatherland common to all our country's nations and ethnic groups.

The defense minister reminded the leaders of military press organs of Lenin's description of a newspaper as not only a collective propagandist and agitator, but also a collective organizer. The military press must work more actively, aggressively, militantly. Practice shows that in

the editorial collectives themselves not everyone has yet grasped profoundly enough that restructuring means first and foremost work of a new quality, for the military journalist as well as others.

The military press should use the whole force of the party's word, communist convictions, and devotion to the party's cause, the cause of socialism, to assert the ideas of restructuring and mobilize personnel to resolve its practical tasks, first and foremost to **improve the quality of combat training**. It is necessary to strive to ensure that every officer and soldier asks himself this question: What does thinking in terms of quality parameters mean to him personally, what should he do in this connection today, tomorrow, in the longer term? Everyone is called upon to find his own angle of attack on sluggishness, inertia, stereotyping, leveling down. For everyone this means a sense of responsibility for the task in hand, profound knowledge and conscientious fulfillment of the demands of the regulations and his service duties, and the desire to ensure good end results. It is specific items to this effect that are still lacking in the military press.

There should be constant, avid attention toward topics such as the extent to which the content and thrust of combat training comply with the requirements of the defensive military doctrine and the nature of modern combined-arms warfare, the degree to which all personnel are covered by training measures, the complete fulfillment of training plans and programs, and the rational utilization of training time. The efforts of the military press should concentrate on reviving tactical training as the basis of field, air, and sea training. You cannot write formally, soullessly, about such a lively and interesting matter as combat training. But items on this subject are frequently presented in the old-fashioned way. They are declarative, superficial, sloppy. They contain neither fresh thinking nor constructive proposals.

The military press is called upon more energetically to collect, generalize, and disseminate the **experience arising in the course of restructuring**. It is necessary to show up close those commanding officers, political workers, and staff officers who are working in the new way—the best military collectives, in which democratization and glasnost are embodied in a sound moral atmosphere, collective spirit, and military comradeship. In this respect today's journalists could learn from the older generations of newspapermen, especially in wartime. They skillfully showed the best combat experience and offered prompt, effective of examples of courage, valor, and skill. It often happened like this: Today a man accomplishes a feat; tomorrow the whole army, the whole front, the whole country knows his name.

A very important task for the military press was and is to **work to strengthen conscious military discipline in the Army and Navy**. In tackling this task newspapers and journals still go for a great deal of sketchiness, stereotypes, generalizations, and edifying phrases. Really interesting, instructive items are extremely rare. Sometimes there is no sign even of an attempt to clarify the real reasons for an incident or crime or to offer any constructive recommendations to our commanding officers and political workers. It is important to show concrete ways of overcoming shortcomings and leading experience in this work. That experience exists in every military district and fleet, and that includes experience in eradicating instances of nonregulation relations, but unfortunately this has yet to be properly reflected in the military press.

The best forces of editorial collectives, journalists, and writers should become involved in studying the subject of discipline and the cultivation of collectivity and comradeship. Clearly the phrase about "being close to people" has become, with us, rather worn, vague, and formal, and therefore does not achieve its aim. When a journalist writes about discipline, obviously he should start not with a measure, but with a man, his spiritual condition, his interests, concerns, sorrows, and joys.

The defense minister drew the attention of the conference participants to the importance of convincingly presenting in the pages of the military press the **high moral values** that have always been our Army's strength and studying in depth questions of **officers' and soldiers' honor, dignity, nobility, and decency**. Emphasizing the importance and topicality of subjects relating to coverage of **ethnic relations**, he noted that every Armed Forces subunit is a multinational military collective, and that we must work persistently, enterprisingly, and creatively to ensure its cohesiveness. Newspapers and journals should keep constantly in view matters of the level of interethnic communication, the international education of personnel, and the servicemen's development of a sense of pride in being defenders of the motherland.

It is also necessary not to lose sight of the most important **philosophical problems**, especially since they play a paramount role in ideological restructuring. Items on topics relating to the history of our country and the Soviet Armed Forces require an exacting, principled, and supremely objective approach. The military press should make more active use in its work of the very rich spiritual potential inherent in **combat traditions**. It is important to publicize vividly the combat career of our illustrious formations, units, and ships and to make wider use of the materials contained in their combat service records and the potential of museums and rooms of combat glory. It is necessary to demonstrate systematically how in everyday military life the new generations of defenders of the motherland worthily continue and augment the heroic traditions.

One crucial area of work for the military press today is the **election campaign**. Newspapers and journals have an important part to play in publicizing the candidate deputies' election programs. It is important for the

political enthusiasm aroused in servicemen by the preparations for the elections of USSR people's deputies to be channeled into the further rallying of personnel, the strengthening of organization and discipline, and the successful resolution of the tasks of the troops' training and combat readiness.

Today, in the conditions of the development of glasnost and the opening up of formerly "closed" zones and topics, the journalist cannot escape **responsibility for the careful selection of facts and arguments**. The policy of glasnost will not tolerate journalistic frivolity, superficial judgments, tendentiousness, or the quest for sensation, for so-called "hot" stories. Unfortunately these failings are encountered in the military press, too. They can be avoided by being constantly involved in life, maintaining close contacts with military collectives, and obtaining information from the prime sources. More readers' letters should be published on all questions of Army and Navy life. The discussion of the most important and topical problems should be practised more widely, and these discussions should be taken to their logical conclusion. It is important to increase the effectiveness of mass work, develop the military correspondents movement, and seek and creatively apply active forms of work by editorial collectives among the troops, such as, for instance, touring editorial offices, permanent editorial posts, and so forth. The effectiveness of publications depends to a great extent on all these things.

Concern for the effectiveness of articles, USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov said in conclusion, is one of the most important matters for the leaders of military press organs and editorial collectives. Criticisms cannot be allowed to go unanswered. Nor can it be tolerated that sometimes the answers printed are evasive, which prompt justified reproaches from readers.

It is always important to remember that newspapers and journals win prestige and popularity first and foremost through the clarity of their ideological stance—powerful, committed articles—and the consistent, firm implementation of the party's policy, the policy of restructuring.

Lizichev Meets With Soviet Troops in GDR

LD0703034489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2311 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Excerpt] A meeting has taken place among Soviet troops in Germany between the party aktiv and Army General Lizichev, candidate people's deputy of the USSR on behalf of the CPSU and head of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy. The electors know their candidate deputy well. Most of those present in the hall know General Lizichev from when they served with him here in this group of troops.

The Armed Forces personnel today face important and very complex tasks connected with the necessity of having a new and qualitative approach toward solving all issues of Army life—from combat training to everyday service concerns. All this is of special importance for those who serve beyond the border of the homeland.

Speaking of the course of restructuring to the Army, Comrade Lizichev stressed that there was still much to do in the near future so that our Armed Forces will be up to the requirements Soviet society makes of them today. It is essential above all to fully eradicate the notorious practice of bullying and showing off and to eliminate in the Army all relations that run counter to the rules. The head of the Main Political Directorate also replied to questions from servicemen, including ones connected with the welfare of those who are joining the reserves in connection with the reduction of the numerical strength of the Armed Forces. [passage omitted] [video shows soldiers meeting with Lizichev]

Questioners Given Answers on Military Matters

PM0703101389

[Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 March 1989 First Edition carries on page 3 under the headline "Notes from the Auditorium: Two KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Soirees in the Moscow Variety Theater" a full-page feature on two evening question-and-answer sessions organized by the newspaper on 22 and 23 February during which the editor and senior military officers reportedly answered questions on diverse topics put to them in the form of notes from the floor.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editor I.M. Panov, asked why Marshal of the Soviet Union Akhromeyev retired, answered as follows:

"Various things are said by people about Marshal Akhromeyev's departure from the post of chief of the General Staff. The truth is that he left because of his health." Regarding the cost of a professional versus volunteer conscript army, Panov says: "It is calculated that a professional army would be 5-8 times more expensive for our society."

Major General of Aviation V. Kovalenok, twice Hero of the Soviet Union and USSR pilot-cosmonaut, justifies expensive space research in terms of its multiple terrestrial spinoffs.

Major General of Aviation I. Timokhovich, professor and doctor of historical sciences, asked to comment on figures concerning repressions in the Army under Stalin in relation to the Soviet Army's retreat in 1941:

"There were many reasons for it. One was the Stalinist repressions of the prewar years. The Institute of Military History, where I work, has established the following figures: From 1937 through 1941 40,000 officers and generals were repressed—37,000 in the Ground Forces and Air Force and 3,000 in the Navy. Stalin took the repressions to the point where he did not have enough

experienced cadres to appoint to regiments, let alone divisions. It is no wonder that several thousand military commanders were returned from the camps in 1941, just before the war began. These included Rokossovskiy, Meretskov, Gorbatov, and many others.

"The repressions led to a situation at the beginning of the war where 41 percent of military cadres, ranging from district troop commanders through division commanders, had been in their posts from 1-6 months, and 46 percent less than 1 year.

"I could give many examples where commanders were appointed literally on the eve of war."

An unattributed answer says that three-fourths of copies of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA are distributed outside the Army.

Predraft Problems Addressed at Conference
PM0703100189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 1

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA-TASS report: "How Moscow's Preinductees Are Being Trained for Service in the Ranks of the Soviet Army"]

[Text] This was discussed yesterday at a conference in the Moscow Gorkom and Moscow Obkom Political Enlightenment Center. It was noted that in the 2 and ½ years which have elapsed since the adoption of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on training young men of predraft and draft ages for active military service in the USSR Armed Forces, initial military and physical training for young men, treatment and health work, and the organization and holding of the draft have been activated. But representatives of the party, trade union, and Komsomol aktiv, and workers in the military commissariats also said that applied military and technical types of sports are being poorly developed in the city and the number of draftees is declining because of schoolboys' poor health and the rise in the number of lawbreakers among young people.

V.I. Kuznetsov, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, analyzed work with young people of predraft and draft age in the capital.

Colonel General N.V. Kalinin, commander of the Moscow Military District, and Major General V.A. Bespalov, Moscow City military commissar, took part in the work of the conference.

'Great Patriotic War' Reference Book Criticized
PM0603125789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6

["Rejoinder" by Mikhail Lokhvitskiy, member of the USSR Writers Union: "Military Field Toadying"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The country's book stores have received the dictionary and reference book "The 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War" published in 1988 by the Political Literature Publishing House (second edition of 200,000 copies). The authors and compilers are staffers at the USSR Defense Ministry Institute of Military History.

Although the preface states that the dictionary is a scientific reference publication, the selection of particular names and cities and population centers does not always agree with this criterion. Here are a few examples: Why is there a separate entry for the rayon center of Ostrogozhsk, liberated by our troops in 1943, but no mention of, for instance, Temryuk, also a rayon center liberated in 1943? Surely it is not just because the "Ostrogozhsk" entry is followed by the entry "Ostrogozhsk-Rossosh Operation?" Yet Temryuk was also liberated during the operations on the Taman peninsula, although there is no "Taman" entry either. Why does the dictionary describe the Georgian poet G. Leonidze, whose poems "are imbued with Soviet patriotism and hatred for the fascist invaders," but have nothing to say about the Georgian writer K. Lordkipanidze, hero of socialist labor, who passed through the war? Why does the dictionary include K. Satpayev, president of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences (1946-1952 and 1955-1964), who took no part in the war? Why does it name railroad worker N. Lunin, hero of socialist labor, but not the renowned diver N. Lunin, hero of the Soviet Union ?

We must give the dictionary's authors their due—it goes name many figures of literature and art whose names are connected with the Great Patriotic War. But here, too, there is much we cannot understand. Why, for instance, while naming the military correspondents and writers K. Simonov, A. Sofronov, N. Gribachev, and A. Chakovskiy, have the authors avoided other names—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA military correspondent A. Platonov, TASS military correspondent K. Paustovskiy, and front newspaper staffer V. Grossman? Surely not just because, in contrast to the military correspondents named in the dictionary, they did not subsequently become prize winners and deputies?

If the inclusion in the dictionary of biographical information (without any commentary) about figures of our history like L. Mekhlis, A. Zhdanov, S. Budennyy, K. Voroshilov, and M. Suslov is explained by the fact that they took part in the war, then what is the criterion for the inclusion of an entry on K. Chernenko, who spent the war studying at the Higher School of Party Organizers?

And something totally unexpected is the inclusion of the biographies of present-day party and government leaders who by reason of their age could not take part in the Great Patriotic War. In an attempt to give reasons for their position, the book's authors reproduce at the end of each biographical entry the same stereotyped phrase: "The theme of the Great Patriotic War occupies a considerable place in the speeches and articles of...." And there follows the relevant surname.

What is this—thoughtlessness, tactlessness, irrational zeal? Surely the book's authors and editors understand that they are putting people in an awkward position who are respected in the country? And just how far can you go, guided in historical science by the desire to do "as well as possible?" God forbid that this collective of authors should undertake the publication of a similar dictionary and reference book on the October Revolution and civil war—after all this theme also "occupies a considerable place in the speeches and articles of...."

*** Control Committees in Army Urged After Suicide**
WA18010508 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 9, 1 Mar 89 p 11

[Article: "Time to Get to Work"]

[Text] "Tyranny of the old timers" [dedovshchina].... One can hardly find a person today who does not know what an ugly phenomenon is denoted by this phrase. One might discuss why yesterday's school children and students come into the job market unprepared in spite of the fact that the school program envisions military and physical training. One can judge the shortcomings of our system of education and training, which does not instill in the young minds the fundamentals of morality and moral behavior. But there is nothing that can justify the situation of cruelty and arbitrariness which, supposedly contributing to the maturation of the children, leads some of them to tragedy.

Writers and journalists, using the mass media, are trying to draw attention to "tyranny of old timers" and are unmasking it as a disgrace of the society. The situation in the Army is becoming a subject of serious discussion at meetings of the Politburo of the CPSU CC.

Here is the latest tragedy. On 8 October 1988, having served only 3 months in the Soviet Army, a student of the Kiev Polytechnical Institute, Vlas Ignatenko, committed suicide.

Badgered by constant mocking, broken down by humiliation, physically exhausted, he reached the point of despair beyond which it was impossible to live. He was brought to his death by his "mentors," urged on by the sergeants and with the full complicity of the officers.

A good, cheerful, and talented youth has departed this life. Is it possible to convey the sorrow of the mother who has lost her only son?

Vlas' letters make one shudder from the senseless, inhuman cruelty of our young compatriots.

"...yesterday they beat me up and literally put a knife to my throat so that I would do their work along with these criminals and wash someone else's underwear."

"...they took my tablet and found a letter to my parents. And then the crowd read it...they made all kinds of fun of me and beat me...."

"...during the night they tied me to the bed with belts and put a burning match to my foot...they dislocated my rib and apparently collapsed my lung, I am gasping for breath."

"God, how they have humiliated me. You know it is terrifying when everyone is against you. To be brief, I seriously wanted to hang myself. I have detail every other day—busy work. And then the 'blues' promised they would rape me."

"...they have begun to wake me up during the night to wash their [word indistinct]. Once they beat me up when I refused. And I gave in—I began to wash them: The pain is too great when it is in the liver."

The fate of Vlas Ignatenko—who, like many, many others, became a victim of "old timer tyranny"—convinces us that in spite of the efforts that are being made, the situation in the Army is as dramatic as before.

The time has come to move on from words of perturbation, tears of despair, and appeals for mercy to concrete actions. We must protect our sons!

Let us create in each republic, kray, and oblast independent committees for social control in the Army.

The functions of the committee should consist of exercising social control over the life of military subdivisions. Matters of observing the law, protecting citizens' rights, providing for normal living conditions, and eradicating unauthorized relations—these comprise the main area for the work of the committees.

The committees, which will include parents of military servicemen along with representatives of public organizations, must provide opportunities to meet freely with the soldiers and visit the locations of their units.

The work of these committees in no way affects the interests of the country's defense capabilities or professional military questions—we are speaking about control of the social aspect of Army life.

To the USSR government and all interested departments—and there can be none that are not interested!—we are raising the question of creating social control committees. We hope for mutual understanding with the political agencies of the Army and Navy. We are sure

that the Army will not put up obstacles to the work of the committees and that they will receive their activity as real assistance from the society in solving today's problems. The creation of the committees will be a real practical embodiment of the idea of unity of the Army and the people.

[signed]
B. I. Medovar, Ukrainian SSR academician, deputy of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet;
V. I. Dubodelov, candidate of technical sciences, deputy of the city council;
V. P. Polishchuk, doctor of technical sciences, state prize winner of the Ukrainian SSR, professor;
V. L. Naydek, corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, director of the Ukrainian SSR Institute of Problems of Metal Casting;
Yu. V. Moiseyev, doctor of technical sciences, professor;
A. V. Yelskaya, corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences;
S. S. Mamota, doctor of technical sciences;
M. I. Yadrenko, professor at Kiev State University;
Yu. V. Kazachenko, professor at Kiev State University;
and 1,485 other signatures.

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